

ABORTION: The ISSUE

That Won't
Go Away

Joan Walsh reports
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Photographs by Lionel Delevingne



No cohesive plan on arms control

By John B. Judis

WASHINGTON

Prior to the November election, the conventional wisdom among Democrats was that the Reagan administration had secretly devised plans for its second term that would most likely plunge the world into war and deprive ordinary Americans of their hard-earned savings. Administration actions may still have these results, but the two months since Ronald Reagan's landslide victory have demonstrated conclusively that if they do occur it will not be because of a preconceived set of policies.

The president now seems to want an arms control agreement with the Soviet Union, but he has yet to establish a common approach within his administration that the Soviets could conceivably accept—and he may not be able to. Secretary of State George Shultz' meeting with Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko appeared to auger well for a future agreement. So did Reagan's replacement of arms control negotiator Edward Rowny, who seemed to oppose any agreement, with former Sen. John Tower and two allies of former intermediate arms negotiator Paul Nitze, Max Kampelman, who will head the new delegation, and Maynard M. Glitman. Nitze tried unsuccessfully to get the administration to reach an agreement with the Soviets before deploying cruise and Pershing missiles. Forced into semi-retirement by illness, he is still playing a behind-the-scenes role and is expected to push for some kind of agreement.

Administration statements since the Shultz-Gromyko meeting have revealed that the kind of divisions within the administration that prevented any previous agreement persist. In January 13 interviews, Shultz and Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger presented diametrically opposed views on the crucial issue of the Geneva meeting: whether an agreement on the administration's "star wars" program could be tied to agreements on intermediate and strategic weapons. Shultz suggested that it could be, and Weinberger that it could not. In the president's January 21 inaugural address, he reiterated his commitment to "star wars."

There is no indication that the other issues dividing the Pentagon and State Department on arms control—for instance, whether the Soviets should be forced to reduce their land-based missile force without an analogous reduction in American strength—have been resolved. The only difference is that where the debate was previously conducted internally between Assistant Secretary of State Richard Burt and Assistant Secretary of Defense Richard Perle, it is now being openly debated by Shultz and Weinberger. Before, the fact that it was being debated at the level of assistant secretaries meant that it was insufficiently pressing for cabinet heads, let alone the president, to resolve. Now Reagan may be forced to choose sides.

The Shultz-Weinberger division.

The Shultz-Weinberger division cuts across almost all foreign policy issues. In addition to arms control, it has affected Central American policy, where Shultz has pushed a diplomatic settlement with the Nicaraguan government, while the Pentagon, let by Undersecretary of Defense Fred Ikle, has called for breaking relations with the Sandinistas, recognizing the *contras* and funding them with the express purpose of overthrowing the Sandinistas. The Pentagon also favors far stricter controls on trade with the Soviet Union than do the State or Commerce Departments. The Pentagon recently won a round in the ongoing battle when National Security Advisor Robert McFarlane ruled that the Pentagon should be able to oversee the export of high-technology to non-Communist countries when it suspects that the technology will eventually find its way into Soviet hands.

Some conservatives have complained that recent staff and cabinet changes in the administration have shifted power toward Shultz and away from Weinberger. Besides the ouster of Rowny, they cite Reagan's refusal to promote retiring UN Ambassador and hardliner Jeane Kirkpatrick to a high foreign policy post, the departure of Secretary of the Interior William Clark and the appointment of Secretary of the Treasury Donald Regan, an old friend of Shultz, as White House Chief of Staff.

But as long as Weinberger remains Defense Secretary, it is unlikely that Shultz will be able to carry the day. To make progress on arms control and to break the policy stalemate in Central America, the

president himself will have to decide between them.

The Reagan administration appears even less prepared to tackle the domestic economic issues tied up in its forthcoming budget proposal. Reagan's campaign promises not to raise taxes or reduce Social Security and his continuing commitment to the Pentagon have made any meaningful budget reductions impossible. After Senate and House leaders rejected the administration's December proposals—which included only nominal reductions in military spending and failed to meet the administration's own target of a \$100 billion deficit in 1988—Senate Republicans, under the leadership of Kansas Sen. Robert Dole, set about writing their own budget proposal, which they plan to unveil February 1, three days before the administration is supposed to reveal its final proposal.

Since the Woodrow Wilson administration (1913-1921), the submission of a budget proposal has been a closely guarded prerogative of presidents. It was a significant step in the elevation of the executive over the legislative branch. Therefore, Reagan's acquiescence in the Senate proposal is all the more telling. The same administration that previously sought the power of a line-item veto is letting the Senate write its budget for it.

The administration appears equally confused over what to do about taxes. The president greeted Secretary of the Treasury Donald Regan's tax simplification plan with marked indifference. But in the absence of a concrete approach to the budget, it is beginning to re-examine Regan's plan to see if there is any basis in it for an administrative initiative.

Has Reagan lost control?

Some commentators have concluded from the administration's apparent confusion on the budget and from the seemingly independent manner in which Chief of Staff James Baker and Regan decided to swap offices that the president himself has lost control of his own administration. But it is not yet clear that this has occurred.

As Reagan's biographer Lou Cannon has pointed out, Reagan has often allowed his staff to arrange changes behind his back. But he has also tended to disapprove changes when he dislikes them. There is some indication that he had already ruled against making Michael Deaver or William Clark his chief of staff before he agreed to the Baker-Regan swap.

The administration stalemate on arms control and the budget is also not necessarily a sign of Reagan's having lost control. From the time he was governor of California, Reagan has dealt with issues in two different ways: when they are issues, like the 1981 tax cut, where he believes politics and principle coincide, he will fight for them

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resolutely and compromise reluctantly. And when they are issues like Social Security, where he believes the political landmines prevent any principled resolution, he will try to defer responsibility so as to minimize the political damage to his administration. Thus Reagan handled Social Security and the MX in his first administration by appointing a bipartisan administration to make recommendations.

He clearly believes that the current budget issues fall into the second category, and he is already hinting that he would accept a reduction in Social Security if it were presented to him by an insistent and bipartisan congressional majority. In short, he is jockeying to have Congress do the dirty work.

The problem with arms control is that it does not fall into either category. During much of Reagan's first term, he believed that politics and principles dictated a hardline toward the Soviet Union. Yet now he seems to want to crown his administration with some kind of agreement with the Soviet Union. But, being a hardliner himself, convinced of the Soviet Union's essential malevolence, he is not yet reconciled to the kind of compromise that will be necessary to accomplish such an agreement. And arms control cannot be dealt with like Social Security. The president cannot ask Congress to force unpleasant compromises on him. He can only agree to whatever unpleasant compromises are necessary to get the Soviets to agree to some unpleasant compromises of their own.

Reagan's arms control dilemma is internal. To date the administration's ambivalent position accurately reflects the president's ambivalent will.

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IN

Little give-and-take in abortion debate

By Joan Walsh

WHILE ABORTION CLINICS across the country braced for a predicted wave of bombings and attacks, Ronald Reagan became the first president to address the annual March for Life, held in Washington, D.C., on January 22 to mark the Supreme Court's 1973 *Roe vs. Wade* decision legalizing abortion. This year the right-to-life ritual served to spotlight the movement's contradictions: Supported by the president, its goals a central tenet of currently ascendant Republicanism, it still behaves as an insurgent out-of-power movement, uncomfortable with compromise and increasingly extremist on its fringes.

By telephone hookup from the Oval Office, Reagan declared his "sense of solidarity" with the marchers, and announced his support for a strict human life amendment, seeming to reverse his previous backing of an amendment that allowed abortion to save a woman's life. Press Secretary Larry Speakes was later forced to clarify the statement—the president still supports a maternal life exception to an abortion ban. He also had to deny that the president meant any political slight in refusing to be photographed in his meeting with New York Archbishop John J. O'Connor and March for Life organizer Nellie Gray. In a movement highly sensitive to political snubs real and imagined, both subtle distancing gestures likely rankled.

The rash of clinic bombings that formed the backdrop to this year's *Roe vs. Wade* protests have created a new dilemma for the right-to-lifers. While leaders of major national organizations have refused to "condone" the attacks, many have also re-

fused to condemn them, and all stress the causes for the extremism, taking a violence begets violence line. A typical response came from Stephanie Johnson of the American Life Lobby: "It's too bad there's so much attention to the violence against the buildings instead of the violence within. We don't encourage it, but you have to understand the mentality."

But if the violence continues—there have been 30 cases of arson and clinic bombings since 1982 and countless cases of van-

dalism and harassment—it threatens anti-abortion advocates' most important task: convincing the majority of Americans who are at least ambivalent about abortion that the movement has some moral and political credibility. That middle ground will be the contested turf in the next decade of abortion debate, and it's one where neither side can now claim a decisive edge.

In many ways the Reagan years have been demoralizing for the right-to-lifers. Their efforts were counted as crucial in Reagan's 1980 election, and perhaps more important in the defeats of liberal senators Frank Church, George McGovern, John Culver and Birch Bayh. But those electoral victories didn't translate into a congressional mandate for anti-abortion legislation. Restrictions on federal abortion funding—begun with the pre-Reagan Hyde amendments—grew tighter, but progress toward an outright ban was minimal. The best claim that can be made about the proposed constitutional amendments and congressional legislation reversing *Roe vs. Wade* is that the bills managed to reach the Senate floor for debate.

Dissent in the anti-abortion ranks helped slow the cause. Splits emerged over the two major "human life" initiatives of 1982, Utah Sen. Orrin Hatch's constitutional amendment and North Carolina Sen. Jesse Helms' more comprehensive statute. The Hatch Amendment was a simple statement that the Constitution guaranteed no right to abortion, and it returned the right to restrict or prohibit it to Congress and the states. But needing two-thirds support, even Hatch admitted the measure stood no chance of passage that session. The Helms bill, by contrast, needed only majority support, but it was doomed by serious questions about its legality. Hatch wouldn't support Helms, and the major organizations split as well. The National Right to Life Committee (NRLC) went with Hatch, going so far as to lobby against the Helms bill. Yet the more conservative, New Right-connected American Life Lobby stuck with Helms.

But while all sides say such splits will be averted this year, none of the three pieces of abortion ban legislation has a real chance of passing. The reintroduced Hatch Amendment is still the pragmatists' choice, since it says nothing about banning abortion

Anti-abortion marchers were out in full force on January 22 in Washington protesting the anniversary of the 1973 *ROE vs. WADE* decision legalizing abortion.



Lionel Delevigne



Lionel Delevigne

Reagan declared his "sense of solidarity" with the marchers.

and thus avoids the debate over exceptions for rape, incest and maternal life. Sen. Jake Garn (R-Utah) is sponsoring a harder line amendment, which establishes a fetal right to life and bans abortion except to save a woman's life. The new Helms bill takes the same tack as Hatch—stripping abortion of constitutional protection—but also contains draconian measures to permanently cut off direct and indirect federal abortion funding.

"We state forthrightly that if we had our way, we'd like to see the Garn amendment passed, but everybody doesn't share that point of view," says Hatch aide Randy Rader. The American Life Lobby "won't oppose anything," says Johnson, but will work hardest for the Helms bill. The NRLC is "going to support them all," says legislative director David O'Steen.

The ambivalent majority.

Yet despite those groups' consensus, no one expects an abortion ban this session or in any session during the decade, because Congress, on abortion at least, more or less

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Lionel Delevigne

IN SHORT

"Pink collar" victory

After 10 weeks on the picket line, close to a thousand Yale University "pink collar" union members jammed the Center Church on the Green in New Haven to ratify their first contract, reports Carole and Paul Bass. They saw no reason to conceal their jubilation when union negotiator John Wilhelm announced the verdict: by a vote of 890 to 2, Local 34 of the Federation of University Employees approved its contract with Yale.

The contract addresses the predominantly female, clerical and technical union's complaints of discrimination. It makes it easier for women to rise through the ranks. It no longer takes away seniority for extended maternity leave or for switching into a new job. It hikes dental and pension benefits and provides for paternity leave for fathers whose wives work elsewhere and can't get time off. And most important, it raises the average union member's salary from \$13,318 to about \$18,000 by January 1988. "People were living in genuine fear, especially older women who are on their own," Wilhelm told the church gathering at the January 22 ratification meeting. "You've done something about that, which is quite impressive. You've shown the entire country that people who do the work you do—mostly women and some men—demand better treatment and will get it."

Cheryl Schaffer, regional coordinator for District 925 of the Service Employees International Union in Boston, said the Yale strike prompted a flood of requests from University clerical workers for information about unionizing. And UAW organizers present at the New Haven ratification are aiding a similar organizing drive at Harvard and at Columbia, where workers have set a February 4 strike deadline because the university won't negotiate with the union on a first contract.

Non-returnable businesses

In Greece, the Papandreou government has fended off a demand by previous owners of 34 now state-controlled industries to return "problematic" industries to them. "Problematic" apparently is not a word used lightly in Greece. A study by the National Economy Ministry found that though the firms' capital adds up to only five billion drachmas, the businesses have been coasting on loans that top 130 billion drachmas. According to the Athens News Agency, National Economy Minister Gerassimos Arsenis called the situation "nightmarish," but added that the responsible parties—the previous owners and the pre-Papandreou banks—should take the blame. According to Arsenis, a lack of any industrial policy by the private owners left the firms languishing 30 years behind comparable businesses in other countries. He zeroed in on two other causes for the present mess: owners whose only claim to business expertise was their family ties to majority-share owners and a banking system that serves the interests of the "big concerns" instead of supporting development.

The intricacies of the law.

Can the evidence for a court case be too complicated for a judge to reach a decision? Apparently Judge David Edelstein thought so last July when he dismissed a suit brought by 13 British women and two U.S. Congressmembers against the U.S. government for deploying cruise missiles at Greenham Common without even hearing the testimony. According to the judge, the courts do have the power to decide the Greenham Common case, but they don't have the capability, because "the fact-finding that would be necessary for a substantive decision is unmanageable and beyond the competence of the judiciary."

Gwyn Kirk of the Center for Constitutional Rights (CCR) applauded Edelstein for admitting that deployment is a legal question as well as a political one, but saw his reason for dismissal as a neat attempt to sidestep the issue. The detailed evidence—including 400 pages of expert testimony on military strategy and the technology involved in cruise missiles—as well as the CCR's argument that the deployment impinges on international and U.S. constitutional law is complicated, admits Kirk. "But courts decide very complex issues every day, and at the very least Edelstein would have to hear the expert testimony before deciding whether he can judge the case." Last week the CCR appealed the judge's dismissal with CCR lawyer Anne Simon telling the Court of Appeals in New York, "There will never be another time when there is more information about the missile—except after it is used."

Terrorist chic

People's Park—the block-long plot of land at the University of California at Berkeley that was the soapbox of the Free Speech Movement—the scene of bloody confrontations between the Berkeley left and the National Guard in the '60s—was declared a local landmark earlier this month. The designation as a city landmark, says historian Ken Stein, "is primarily a symbolic act." Apparently it's a symbol that still generates a lot of heat in the Berkeley community. At the Landmark Commission's hearing, Dr. Dorothea Legarreta told about her children being arrested and abused by then-Governor Ronald Reagan's "occupying army" and vowed that "Berkeley will never be occupied again." She was followed by a representative of businesses in the area who was horrified at granting landmark status to a park that symbolizes "a terroristic hippie takeover of land when terrorism was chic."

—Beth Maschinot



Protests like the one outside the Immigration and Naturalization Services (INS) in Washington, D.C., occurred across the country last week as sanctuary workers vowed to house Central American refugees in the face of INS indictments of 16 sanctuary workers.

Amhoist in St. Paul: Pulling up stakes?

ST. PAUL—One of St. Paul's oldest and most respected employers has apparently broken a promise to maintain most of its traditional manufacturing production here. The company is Amhoist, a manufacturer of cranes. It promises the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) last November that it would stay in St. Paul. The promise was necessary for HUD to approve a grant for a new Amhoist plant to be built in Wilmington, North Carolina.

Last week Amhoist began laying off 500 of the 763 workers in its crane manufacturing facility and 70 of the 140 workers in the foundry here.

Business representatives of the two unions at Amhoist called the company a "runaway." U.S. Congressman Bruce Vento questioned whether Amhoist ever intended to keep its promise not to relocate.

The layoffs virtually wipe out Machinists' Lodge 459, leaving only about half a dozen of its 450 members with jobs. John Kaufman, international representative for the Moulders Union which represents the foundry workers, said he has been told the union's layoffs are only temporary. But he said, "I am not convinced that nothing will happen to the foundry." When he asked the company what the future of the foundry will be, he received no answer.

Last August Congressman Ven-

to learned that Amhoist was planning to move its crane operations to Wilmington, N.C. That city has a deepwater port, which the company said would make it easier to ship overseas the new larger cranes it plans to make there. Also, North Carolina is a right-to-work state, and Vento suspected the non-union atmosphere and resultant lower wages also played a large part in Amhoist's decision to move.

Vento contacted HUD and asked what chance Wilmington had to get a \$4 million Urban Development Action Grant (UDAG) that would provide funds for Amhoist to renovate an old factory building. Vento said he told HUD at the time that he suspected that Amhoist was planning to move its operations to North Carolina.

Such a relocation, illegal under HUD rules, would make the project ineligible for UDAG money. Before the company could qualify, HUD said, it would have to prove it was building a "new" facility—one that would make different products than those in St. Paul. Vento said that HUD told him there was little likelihood Wilmington would get the grant. But HUD agreed to Vento's request to investigate.

At this point, the election involving North Carolina Sen. Jesse Helms began heating up, and Helms started placing pressure on HUD to approve the grant. Sud-

denly, said Vento, without an investigation, the UDAG money was approved on October 1.

Vento began speaking to members of Machinists Lodge 459 who told him that the company was planning to ship some of its St. Paul crane manufacturing equipment to Wilmington.

Finally, Amhoist president Robert Nassau wrote Vento in late November explaining the reasons for the planned new plant. He promised that the Wilmington "expansion" was not a relocation of the present plant. "Even after Wilmington becomes fully operational in 1985, at least 75 percent of the 763 crane-related jobs traditionally and presently performed in St. Paul will remain here." Nassau added that Amhoist was aware of regulations barring use of UDAG money for plant relocations. "We do not intend or plan to violate that statute," Nassau wrote.

But vice president William Faulkner in a telephone interview last week offered contradictory statements to those made earlier in Nassau's letter. Faulkner said that most of the current crane production at Amhoist was due to a sizeable order from a Korean firm. Many of the 763 working at Amhoist in St. Paul are employed on the Korean contract, which is now expiring.

These workers, he suggested, are not part of the "traditional" crane production staff at Amhoist. They are callbacks from layoffs hired solely to build the Korean cranes. The recent 500 layoffs have nothing to do with any shift of work to Wilmington, according to Faulkner. He said that the layoffs would have occurred whether the Wilmington plant opens or not.

But a disturbing question remains for Vento and the union leaders: Why did Amhoist tell HUD that it expected to retain at least 75 percent of its workers?

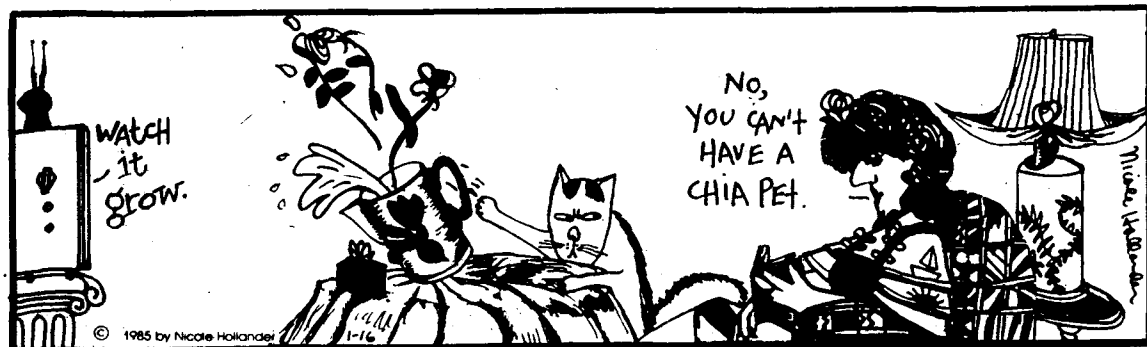
Vento said he intends to watch and see if the new Wilmington plant begins production of the small cranes that have been produced in St. Paul. If Amhoist does produce the small cranes, Vento said he may call for a General Accounting Office investigation of the Amhoist-Wilmington UDAG grant.

Legal action against Amhoist is also possible. Meanwhile, some 500 Amhoist workers are soon to be jobless. According to Machinists Lodge 459 business representative Leo Walter, most of these workers are between the ages of 50 and 60. They are too old to have much of a chance of finding new work. They are also too young to gain much from an early retirement.

—Drew Mendelson

SYLVIA

by Nicole Hollander



By Bob Gottlieb & Peter Wiley

ASAN FRANCISCO MALAISE, TO USE A WORD the Democrats wish they'd never heard, has settled over the party of Andrew Jackson, Franklin Roosevelt and John Kennedy. The new Democratic Party chair, to be selected on February 1, will face the challenge of reviving a party that appears to be on the ropes awaiting a knockout blow.

Two California candidates, Duane Garrett and Nancy Pelosi, are part of a group of Westerners seeking to influence the Democrats' future. It includes Arizona Gov. Bruce Babbitt, who was part of a group of Western governors that unsuccessfully urged Utah Gov. Scott Matheson to run as a more conservative alternative to liberal control of the party. One also has to take into account the future plans of Sen. Gary Hart of Colorado and, believe it or not, former California Gov. Jerry Brown.

Once a favorite of keyhole journalists, Brown is quietly preparing for a comeback. He won't say if he will be a presidential candidate in 1988. But he does acknowledge that he wants to play a major role in his party's revival.

Brown will not say if he'll be a presidential candidate in 1988.

Brown's activities, since he lost his bid for the U.S. Senate in 1982, have focused on two Los Angeles-based organizations that he played a central role in establishing. One, the National Commission on Industrial Innovation (NCII), is an outgrowth of his efforts as governor to promote high-tech industries. The second, the Institute for National Strategy (INS), is more directly political. It has sponsored a continuing series of conferences and seminars, many of them held in Washington, D.C. In his inimitable fashion, Brown participates in these deep-domed discussions as part of his search for the "big ideas" that will shape the U.S. in the post-Reagan years.

Brown has been arguing at NCII gatherings and elsewhere that under President Reagan too much emphasis has been put on conflict with the Soviet Union. The

real problem is the economic challenge posed by American allies, particularly Japan. In a vintage Jerry Brownism, he called Reagan's military buildup "a metaphorical substitute for an economic buildup"—a Maginot line that has been easily breached by foreign imports. Brown's remedy is to develop a consensus around national strategies to create a harmonious world economic order that benefits both the U.S. and its allies.

While the NCII allows Brown to discuss national economic policy with key business and labor leaders, the Institute for National Strategy allows Brown to demonstrate his overall perspective, to showcase other big thinkers as his associates and to keep in touch with traditional liberal constituencies, such as environmentalists and arms control advocates.

The INS' board of directors is an eclectic group that includes David Brower, the well-known environmentalist, novelist Joan Didion, Mexican novelist Carlos Fuentes, Occidental Petroleum Chairman Armand Hammer, arms control experts Adam Yarmolinsky and Dr. Sidney Drell, economics professor and *Newsweek* columnist Lester Thurow. Atari's chief scientist Alan Kay and investment banker Francis Kelly.

Brown is a careful student of recent Republican triumphs and undoubtedly will borrow much from them. His re-entry scenario looks a little like Richard Nixon's after his defeats by John Kennedy and Pat Brown, Jerry's father. Like Nixon, with whom he recently met to discuss East-West relations, Brown is staying away from the media spotlight while casting himself as a world statesman. Brown has visited Mexico, Europe and the Soviet Union in the past year.

A favorite Jerry Brown term is "governing ideas." And he sees some rough parallels between his present endeavors and the systematic development of an intellectual, political and financial infrastructure that accompanied the rise of the New Right in the '70s and the triumph of Reaganism.

The rise to the top of the Democratic Party of such a large group of Westerners indicates that the party may finally come to grips with one of its major problems—the Republican lock on the West in presidential elections. Republican ascendancy has been based on their ability to exploit two contradictory phenomena. First, the Republicans have been helped immeasurably by that inchoate mass movement known as the New Right. So far Reagan and his cohorts have successfully controlled and exploited this rambunctious



Former California Gov. Jerry Brown is a careful student of recent Republican triumphs.

DEMOCRATS

Can Jerry Brown revive the Party?

demi-coalition. Second, Reagan is the acknowledged master of the media approach to politics. This approach is anti-political in that it denies ideas and attempts to keep docile voters from thinking about what is really happening in the world, including what Reagan has done for them or to them.

Jerry Brown and the other would-be Democratic leaders can hold forth at great length about the "big ideas" of the future. But without a social movement from which to derive political energy, this exercise won't get them very far. This is the

political lesson of both the Democrats' original New Deal coalition and the rise of modern conservatism. They also must get beyond the deadening effect of contemporary media imagery in order to breathe new life into their party and the political process. Otherwise, their self-appointed leaders might as well hunker down at their think tanks and high-priced party get-togethers and forget about real politics.

Bob Gottlieb and Peter Wiley write a regular column on the West.

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CONNECTICUT

Employee buy-out stops plant closing

By Carole and Paul Bass

WORKERS AT THE BRIDGEPORT Brass mill here are smiling. That's an unusual sight in the heart of the Naugatuck Valley, formerly known as the "brass capital of the world." The once thriving valley has been Connecticut's number-one casualty to the recession and capital flight of the '70s: plant closings and lay-offs have stripped a 50,000-member brass industry workforce down to 5,000 employees.

Just last February Bridgeport Brass's 225 workers figured their jobs were the next to go. Their factory was up for sale. And their parent company, National Distillers, had already shut down its other brass mills, including the Bridgeport Brass plants in Bridgeport and Norwalk.

Even when organizers came in and suggested a rescue plan—an employee buy-

out—the workers didn't take much heart. It all sounded like a pipedream. While some of their fellow unionists in other parts of the country were hailing worker buy-outs as the potential savior of the nation's rustbelt industries, other workers had turned sour on such experiments. They complained they'd been tricked into accepting major pay cuts and taking responsibility for dying businesses without getting any real control over their work in return.

But now the union, Local 1827 of the United Auto Workers, has agreed to 10 percent pay cuts and is on the verge of signing an approximately \$10 million deal to take over the plant. They say they're smiling because their plan differs from any other ESOP (Employee Stock Ownership Plan) they know of in the country: it really does put them in charge.

Observers outside Seymour agree. This is the first time American brass workers have successfully used an employee buy-out—a relatively new industrial phenom-

non—to prevent a plant closing. Although industry experts caution against seeing worker ownership as a panacea for the industry's ills, they believe it can provide a model to help aging American mills survive in a shrinking market.

"I think Seymour was an important milestone," in demonstrating the potential of employee buy-outs, says business analyst Roland Cline of the Industrial Cooperative Association, a non-profit consulting agency that helped Bridgeport Brass workers put their proposal together.

Unlike in most ESOPs, Bridgeport Brass workers have majority representation on the board of directors. They've already elected five of the nine members. Union president Michael Kearney gets a sixth seat, and company president-to-be Carl Drescher Jr. is the seventh member. The entire board will select the last two from outside the company.

In addition, plant committees are being set up that will go further than the quality circles and other shop-floor labor-management committees that American industries have experimented with. Plant employees will make day-to-day suggestions to the board on everything from work procedures to new product development and investment decisions.

"This gives people the security of being in charge of their own destiny," Kearney says. "If the company succeeds, we made the decisions. If it fails, it's nobody's fault but ours."

Kearney's local has several advantages

over other unions venturing into ESOPs. The mill has remained profitable, because it manufactures about 60 copper-based alloys—an unusually high number—that require specialized equipment that few plants own. Despite the declining demand for brass, those alloys continue to be used in eyeglass frames, electronic equipment and other products. National Distillers simply didn't want to invest the money to modernize the plant.

In addition, Local 1827 and plant managers—who are participating in the buy-out, including the pay cut—have enjoyed unusually harmonious relations in a region noted for its bitter picket-line clashes. The last strike at the mill took place more than 30 years ago.

The employee buy-out has created excitement outside the factory gates and in the surrounding valley. "[The buy-out] saved so much turmoil, so much stress on families when the breadwinner loses his job," remarks the Rev. Timothy Benson of the Seymour Congregational Church. Benson serves on the Naugatuck Valley Project, which helped the union put the ESOP together and is now at work on a similar effort at New Milford's Century Brass tube mill. The buy-out also eases stress on his own church, he notes. This is one potential crisis at a Valley mill that didn't end up making churches such as his scurry for emergency food, shelter and clothing for hard-hit families.

Carole and Paul Bass run Cooperative News Service, based in New Haven, CT.

Abortion

Continued from page 3

reflects American public opinion. There are unyielding pro-choice and pro-life advocates; then there is the vast middle, not committed to advancing abortion rights but unwilling to vote for a ban. Both sides agree that a permanent ban on federal funding—to date, such restrictions must be renewed year by year—is likely to pass this session or next.

The debate over funding is where ambivalence about abortion is most clearly acted out. If abortion must stay legal because people can reach no consensus about its morality, or specifically when life begins, by the same token many won't force opponents to pay for it with tax dollars. In recent sessions the Hyde Amendment has carried the House by 40-plus votes; the con-

test is close in the Senate. Pro-choice forces gained one supporter in the Senate last November, but lost 12 in the House, and "if the vote [on a permanent funding ban] was taken today, I think we'd lose," said National Abortion Rights Action League (NARAL) lobbyist Ron Fitzsimmons.

That would be a significant defeat for pro-choice advocates, but it clearly wouldn't satisfy the other side. Faced with a Congress unlikely to ban abortion in upcoming sessions, the right-to-lifers pin their hopes on a Reagan-appointed Supreme Court majority. Meanwhile, they say they plan to mount a public campaign to win over the ambivalent.

Neither side in the abortion debate has willingly admitted that theirs is a minority position. Pro-choice advocates can point to opinion polls showing majorities of up to 80 percent opposing a ban on abortion; conversely, anti-abortion forces can produce polls showing smaller majorities opposed to abortion on demand. Sociologist Mary Ann Lamanna estimates that nationally, 20 percent of the country favors an outright abortion ban, 25 percent favors no abortion restrictions, but a majority lies somewhere in between, convinced of the need for legal abortion under certain circumstances, but uncomfortable with its widespread use. That 1.5 million abortions are performed in the U.S. annually disturbs even many staunch advocates of choice.

In retrospect, *Roe vs. Wade* had two enduring flaws. One was that it jumped ahead of the growing abortion reform movement by establishing a woman's paramount right to privacy in choosing whether to bear a child. While a woman's right to control her body was central to feminist understanding of abortion's importance, it was not, at that point, a major public argument for abortion reform. Then the issues were more narrowly defined—the movement was spurred by health, safety and access concerns and, perhaps most important, protecting doctors from ambiguities in the nation's patchwork abortion laws. If legalizing abortion on demand made perfect sense to feminists, it



Faced with a Congress that is unlikely to ban abortion in upcoming sessions, the right-to-lifers pin their hopes on a Reagan-appointed Supreme Court majority.

struck others as a bolt from the blue.

Roe vs. Wade's other problem was that it sidestepped the question of when life begins; in fact it used confusion over the question to justify a more liberal law. This has long allowed abortion opponents to argue that medical advances in determining when life begins could make *Roe vs. Wade* obsolete. "The *Roe* framework is clearly on a collision course with itself," argued Justice Sandra O'Connor last year.

O'Connor and others have overstated medical science's ability to settle the abortion debate. They inflate the importance of new technology in determining when life begins, exaggerating how early a fetus can now live outside the uterus, for instance. But they take advantage of many people's, even abortion defenders' difficulties in denying the humanness of a fetus. "I'm not sure anyone is seriously asking whether a fetus is a person anymore. Even the pro-abortion side isn't saying it with such fervor," says the NRLC's O'Steen. "Medical science is on our side."

Thus, the NRLC's major educational push this year will be distributing films on abortion and its grislier moral and medical implications. The first film, *The Silent Scream*, shows a sonogram view of an abortion in progress. Narrated by Dr. Bernard Nathanson, a NARAL founder who joined the other side, the film is being distributed to NRLC chapters, who are to press local television stations to air it. Though the film's purported depiction of fetal pain (the silent scream) has been challenged by the

American Association of Obstetricians and Gynecologists, its impact is powerful.

"It's horrific," says NARAL lobbyist Fitzsimmons. "The language is exaggerated, but it's very effective. It makes me very nervous—we don't yet have a way to counter it."

Yet the story of an increasingly powerful anti-abortion movement has been written before, and still abortion remains legal. The current ambivalence about it is something of a moral luxury. Although abortion on demand gives some people pause, starting the process of restricting abortion will likely be more troublesome. A solid majority supports legal abortion under certain circumstances, and winning support for restrictions would require a campaign "that persuades Americans that the abortions women need...will continue to exist even under an anti-abortion law," in the words of Kristin Luker, author of *Abortion and the Politics of Motherhood*.

That will be a difficult undertaking, for two reasons. Difficulties in guaranteeing women access to "necessary" abortions were what helped spur the abortion reform movement of the '60s. That's a legacy pro-choice forces can draw from. But most significant, the current anti-abortion movement shows little inclination toward political give-and-take. Compromising on certain types of abortion would undermine their heretofore inviolable article of faith—that a fetus is a person and abortion is murder. That intransigence may protect the status quo, for now.

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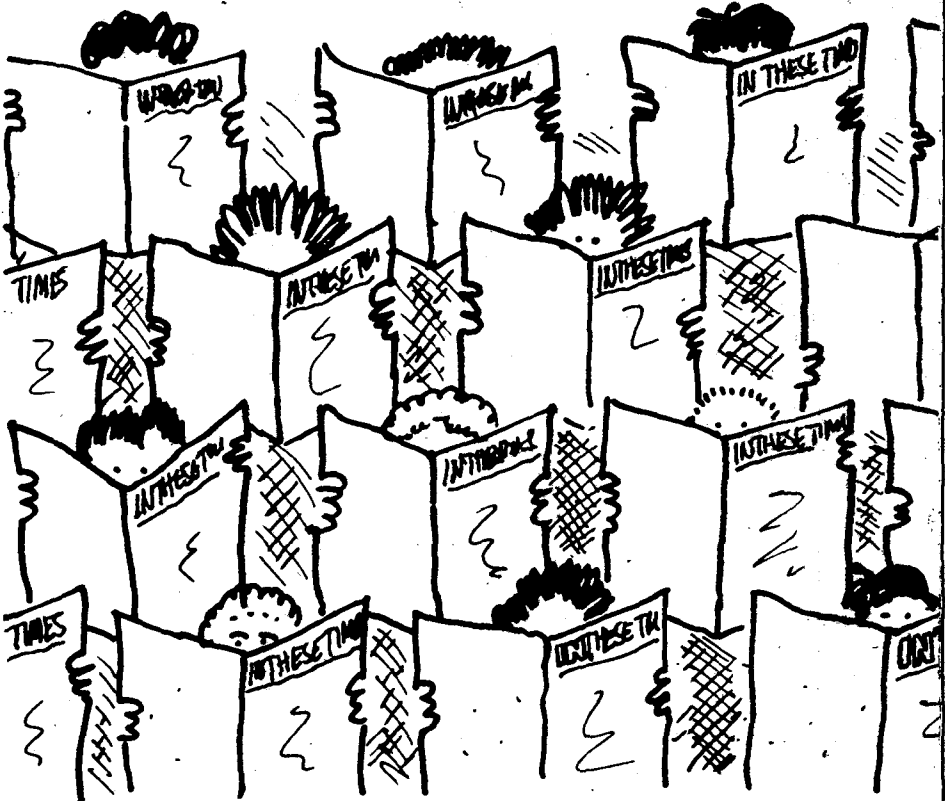
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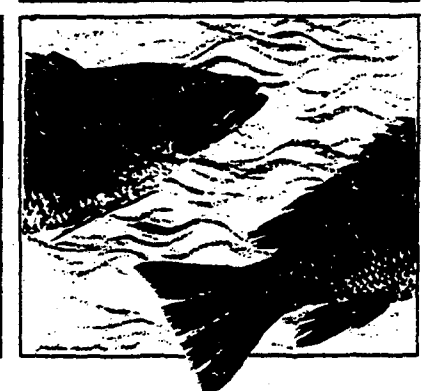
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TEXAS

Gay rights bills defeated in Houston

By Bob Sablatura

HOUSTON

WHEN THE CITY COUNCIL here voted last June to amend its civil service and affirmative action program to prohibit discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation in city hiring and firing, it was viewed as a major victory for Houston's gay community.

In the last few years, gays have been regarded as one of the most powerful voting blocs in city politics. Organized primarily behind the Gay Political Caucus (GPC), that organization has been credited with the ability to guide member's votes to selected candidates and to deliver those votes to the polls on election day.

Now, after Houston voters went to the polls on January 19 in record numbers to defeat two anti-discrimination measures by an 82-18 percent margin, the gay community is faced with the challenge of trying to maintain some semblance of its former political strength. And progressive city council members are awakened to the possibility that, in the name of civil rights, they have stirred up an issue that promises to linger over Houston politics for a long time to come.

The January 19 election was held as a result of a petition drive following the Council's action last June. Led by conservative City Councilmember John Goodner, anti-gay forces gathered more than 60,000 signatures to force a referendum on the anti-discrimination measure.

From the outset, it was apparent the opponents were going to make the homosexual lifestyle, rather than job protection, the main campaign issue.

Goodner was joined by Russ Mather, chair of the Harris County Republican Party, in forming the Committee for Public Awareness. The Committee, along with several conservative, anti-gay groups, built an unlikely coalition of religious, political and business organizations to oppose the measures. Included in the coalition was the Houston Chamber of Commerce, large segments of the Republican Party, a city-wide organization of black ministers and local chapters of the Ku Klux Klan.

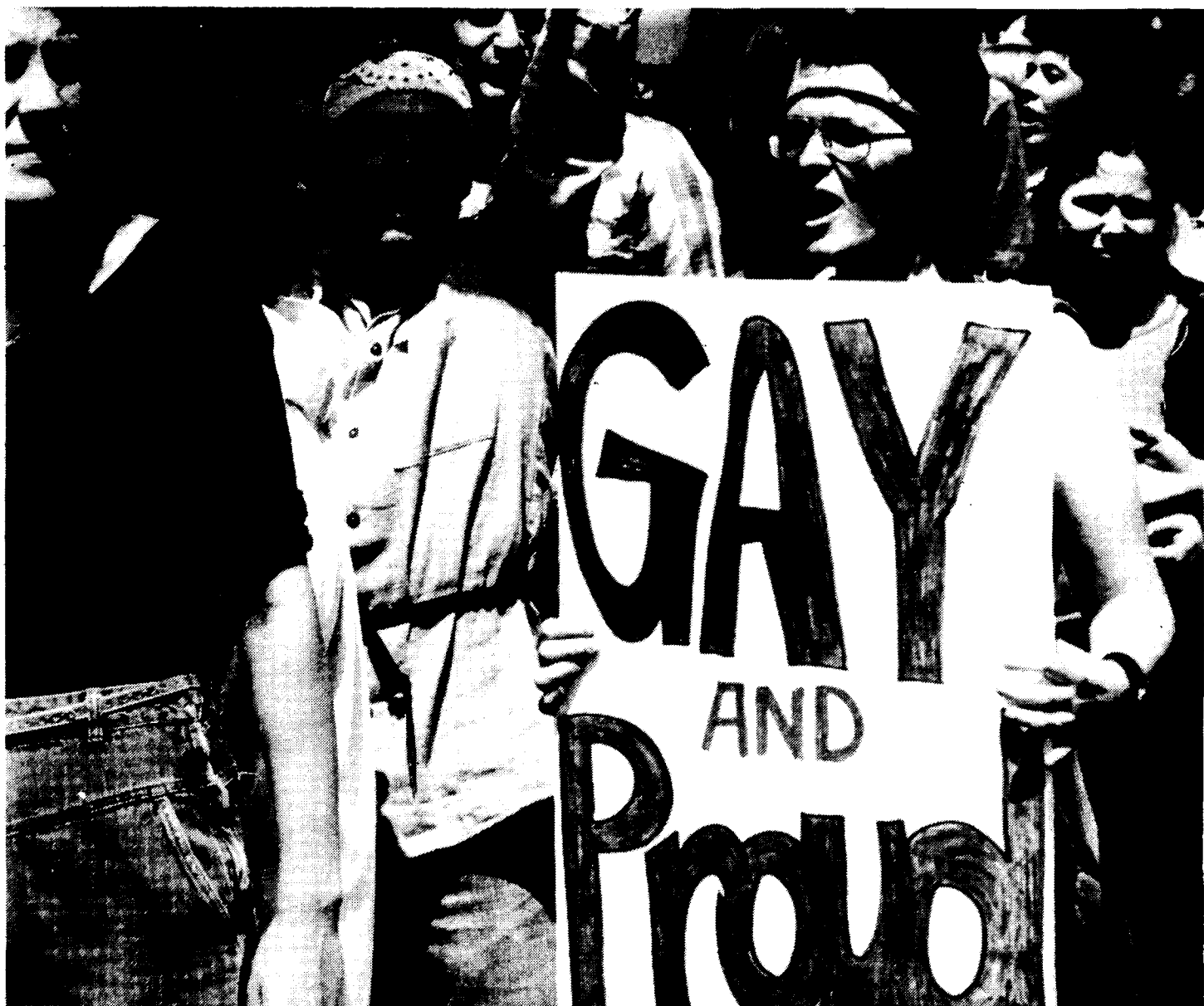
Opponents accused the city council of trying to legitimize homosexuality, arguing that the measures would create a preferred status for gays that could lead to quotas in hiring and in the awarding of city contracts. They also warned that passage could make Houston a homosexual mecca, which

The gay vote, which was expected to make a big showing, didn't materialize.

would bring about health and social problems of major proportion. The committee brought in Dr. Paul Cameron, a Nebraska psychologist, well-known for his anti-gay activism, who called for a national quarantine of all gays until a cure can be found for AIDS.

As the campaign progressed, Klansmen marched on city hall, while many ministers across the city turned their church pulpits into political podiums to preach the evils of homosexuality.

Proponents of the measures argued that the true issue was one of basic human rights, and that a vote for the referendum was not a vote to condone the homosexual lifestyle.



A 1983 gay rights march in Northampton, Mass. Houston anti-gay activists are afraid of a "homosexual mecca" in their city.

When the vote came, the gay community and many councilmembers were stunned by the more than four-to-one defeat.

The gay vote, which was expected to make up a sizable portion of the total, did not materialize. Although gay voting strength within the city had been estimated at 120,000, less than 45,000 votes were cast in favor of the measures. In the 10 precincts within the Montrose area of the city, which has long been considered a gay stronghold, less than 6,000 favorable votes were cast.

This has led opponents to question the true strength of the gay community. "The vote has exposed the Gay Political Caucus," Goodner said. "It has removed the perception that the gay vote is more powerful than it actually is."

Bob Stein, a political science professor at Rice University, who conducted a scientific poll of voters prior to the January 19 election, believes an analysis of voting results bears out this conclusion. Based on his studies of both this election, and the past presidential race, his estimate of actual gay voting strength in the city is close to 25,000 voters, far below previous estimates.

In light of the gay community's poor showing, the GPC may have lost some of its influence in municipal elections. For the past several election seasons, mayoral and city council candidates have lined up to seek the GPC endorsement. Now candidates may not be so eager to seek gay support. Even councilmembers who have traditionally been identified as having strong gay support may decide to put some distance between themselves and the gay community.

Whether the strong emotions stirred up in this campaign will become a factor in the upcoming municipal election is yet to be seen. When Councilmember Anthony Hall first brought up the anti-discrimination measures last year, he was quickly accused by his political opponents of trying to buy gay support for an upcoming mayoral bid. In the past, Hall has expressed a desire to

become the city's first black mayor. Now, with the high visibility he received as the measure's sponsor, he may become a prime target for anti-gay conservatives, and may face an uphill battle to retain his council seat.

Although no candidate has formally announced against Mayor Kathy Whitmire, it is expected that she will face major opposition in her bid for re-election later this year. That opposition could come from Councilmember Goodner, who has announced that it is "very possible" he will challenge Whitmire if his supporters can match the \$300,000 that the mayor has in her campaign chest. He has also indicated that he believes he can beat her if he focuses on issues such as the city's personnel problems and her lack of leadership.

Stein says the pre-election polls indicated that the voters will not hold Whitmire's support of the referendum against her. He also indicated, however, that the fact that people believe Whitmire is in potential

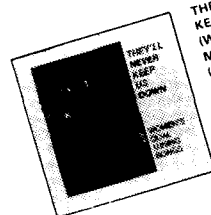
trouble may itself become a factor in the upcoming race. He believes if a strong conservative candidate opposes Whitmire, her base of support could be weakened to the point that a third candidate could step in and become elected.

Poll results even indicate who that potential third candidate could be. According to Stein, City Councilmember Eleanor Pinsley, a two-term incumbent, has as high a favorable rating as the mayor, yet her unfavorable rating is less than half that of Whitmire's. Since Pinsley is considered a liberal member of council, she shares basically the same constituency as Whitmire, which makes her a prime candidate should the mayor's support begin to falter.

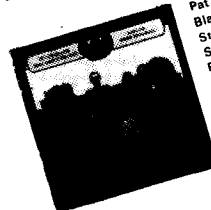
Whatever the outcome, it is clear that the referendum campaign has polarized voters, which will result in more clearly defined liberal-conservative battles in the future.

Bob Sablatura is a Houston-based freelance writer specializing in local politics.

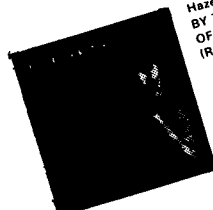
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IN THESE TIMES

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We have been able to do this because of you. For of all of the publications listed above, and many more not listed, *IN THESE TIMES* is alone in having been financed primarily by its readers.

That, of course, does not mean we break even financially, much less make a profit. In 1981, '82 and '83 we had an operating deficit of \$300,000 each year. We took in that much less in circulation

income, advertising revenues and product sales than it cost us to produce the paper. The difference was made up by you, in contributions ranging from \$5 per year to \$15,000.

Last year we cut our operating deficit to \$218,000 by holding costs down and by increasing our subscription income. This year we expect to cut our deficit even further, to just under \$200,000.

We think we've survived and grown partly because of the quality of our writing and analysis, and partly because of our orientation to the real world of politics and culture. We believe that our coverage has been increasingly comprehensive and of higher quality as we gain experience and command more resources, but we also know that in many areas of American life it could be much better. We've added to our coverage of women, the black community and the religious left this past year, and we plan to improve our cultural coverage and other areas during 1985.

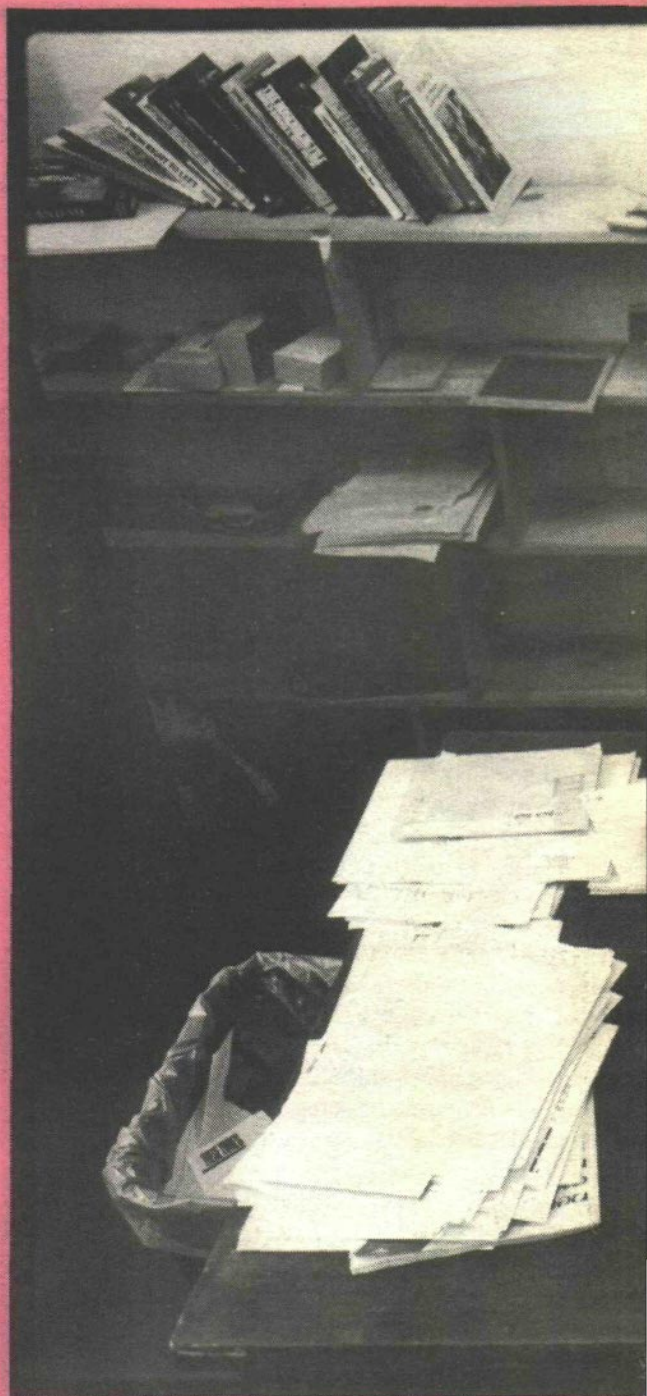
We believe, as so many of our readers tell us in so many different ways, that we have become an indispensable part of the American scene, one of a very small number of left publications whose existence makes a difference in your life.

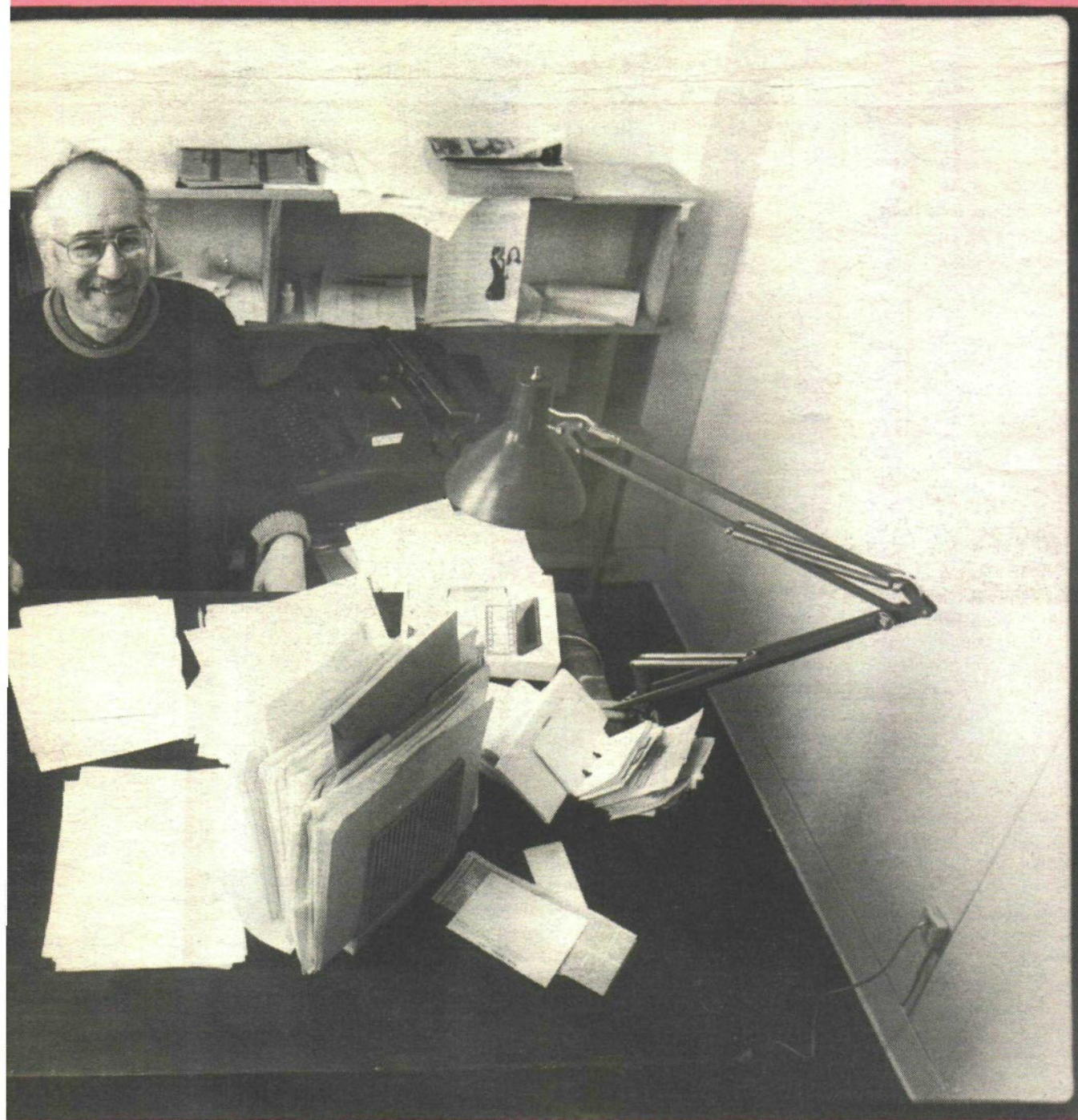
For all these reasons, I'm writing now to ask you to help guarantee our continued survival and

growth in 1985. And while we send out letters like this every year—usually twice every year—this one is a bit different. It is not an emergency appeal. It is early in the year. It is aimed at taking in more money than we usually do in our appeals.

The reasons for this are simple. We've reached the point where it is no longer necessary to worry constantly about our survival. And we've reached the point where it is necessary to put our energy into improving the quality of our journalism and increasing our circulation, rather than scurrying and scrounging for money to pay the printer. To improve our quality we have to pay our writers more, and on time. To increase our circulation we have to do more direct mail promotion. To do either, we have to know the money will be in the bank. That way we can plan ahead.

In short, we need to raise \$100,000 in the next several weeks through this appeal. This is half our deficit, the rest of which will be raised from individual solicitations and from small foundations.





IN THESE TIMES editor
James Weinstein
Photograph: Paul Comstock



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a lot of money, an amount that usually comes only with a life and death appeal, but we know if you want IN THESE TIMES to survive and v, and if you think about the logic of this deal, you'll send us enough to make our goal. Please send us a check, whether it is \$1,000 \$5.00. And please send it today. We're counting on you.

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LETTERS

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CONTROLLED

STEPHEN J. DIAMOND ON NICARAGUAN trade unions, "Should one class mean one union?" (*ITT*, Nov. 14) stated that democratic, independent unions are good while "state-controlled" unions are often bad for the workers. While this isn't a true statement, it does raise the question: "What rights should trade unions have in a socialist state?"

Diamond's position should be examined in view of the benefits of socialism jeopardized by advocating totally autonomous trade unions with autonomous wage demands.

In capitalist economies, each union generally tries to get as high a wage as their strength makes possible. Less strength equals less income. Non-unionized workers with low skills are least paid. That isn't desirable under socialism—where wages and prices and their inter-relationship can be controlled so as to eliminate unemployment, recessions and poverty. Why should unions struggle for higher wages based on their strike power? Shouldn't workers democratically decide what wages are going to be?

If people want wage differences for any reason, such as seniority, age, skills, incentives, hard and easy work, etc. they could decide democratically to skew their wages in relation to an average wage that the economy can support, with some workers above and some below that average. This would help stabilize the economy. The necessarily statistical process wouldn't bring complete equality if people don't want it, but it would level incomes significantly for countries with wide income differences.

Nicaraguan workers still have many private employers to deal with, but the

political situation lends itself to socialist solutions rather than capitalist ones.

—Steve Long
Berkeley, Calif.

BY MEN FOR MEN

AS GEORGE GOLDBERG POINTS OUT IN his letter (*ITT*, January 9) re my article on Edna Politi and her film *Anou Banou* (*ITT*, Dec. 5), no country, culture or political or religious system of thought—Israeli, Arab, American, Jewish, Islamic, Catholic, democratic or socialist—has a corner on the oppression of women. All power structures in the world we live in have been created by men for men, based on the denial of women's autonomy and the appropriation of our resources.

Politi's remarks on Arab culture reflect an understanding, entirely in keeping with feminist ways of seeing the world, that all cultures are autonomous, of equal value and must be recognized and treated as such. My article was not on the status of women in Arab cultures, which are as inflexibly patriarchal as any, but on the connections between the disappearance of women's history and the denial of Arab cultural autonomy in Israel (which encompasses the oppression of Palestinian women as well).

Goldberg's defensive criticism—"well they do it too!"—serves no constructive purpose. It ultimately reinforces the validity of patriarchal structures and does nothing to change the oppression of women and racial and ethnic groups. Understanding how patriarchal systems work and the different but equally unjust kinds of oppression they perpetuate may help.

—K. Kaufmann
San Francisco

AN OPEN LETTER TO FIDEL CASTRO

WE ALL HAVE BEEN LONG-STANDING opponents, in our writings and actions, of U.S. intervention in the affairs of Latin American and Caribbean countries. While we have varying views of the Castro government in Cuba, we are greatly disturbed by the case of Ariel Hidalgo, a Cuban leftist writer, historian and educator.

Ariel Hidalgo was first arrested in 1980 when he faced a rock-throwing group and loudly protested their attacks on a student who was seeking to leave the country during the exodus of Cubans from the port of Mariel. Hidalgo was freed, but he was arrested again in 1981. He was eventually convicted and sentenced to eight years in prison under the Fifth Section (titled "Enemy Propaganda"), article 108-1 of the Cuban Penal Code, which punishes any person "who, (a) incites against the social order, international solidarity or the socialist State by means of oral or written propaganda, or any other form; (b) makes, distributes or possesses propaganda of the character mentioned in the preceding clause." In fact, Hidalgo was sentenced to the maximum term of one-to-eight years established by this law. At this brief one-session political trial, which was unmentioned in the Cuban press, Hidalgo was allowed to say only a few words at the conclusion of the proceedings. The government's case consisted of testimony by the local neighborhood defense committee, who spoke of Hidalgo's "talking too much." The prosecution chose not to mention that the police had seized an unpublished manuscript in which Hidalgo had attempted to demonstrate that a new ruling class has taken over the "socialist" countries including Cuba. Furthermore, he argues that this class should be forthrightly opposed.

For simply expressing his views, Hidalgo spent the first 14 months in jail in deplorable conditions—solitary confinement in the *Combinado del Este* prison near Havana. He was then moved to a regular cell, and his wife (but not his daughter) could visit him once a month for two hours. He was still, however, not allowed to receive writing or reading materials. Since August 1984, even these monthly visits have been prohibited.

We believe that Hidalgo's trial, the law under which he was punished and the prison conditions which he is currently enduring fail to meet the most elementary standards of human rights. Consistent with our stand in support of struggles for freedom and self-determination throughout the world, we ask the Cuban government to release Ariel Hidalgo and any other persons whose rights have been similarly denied.

—Pete Camarata, Noam Chomsky, John Enryk Clarke, Bernadette Devlin McAliskey, Barbara Ehrenreich, Alexander Erlich (1912-1985), Samuel Farber, Barbara Garson, Gay Community News, Richard Healey, Joanne Landy, Gordon K. Lewis, Sam Meyers, Ralph Miliband, Carlos Moore, Paul Robeson Jr., Nanette Rosa-Collazo, Virginia Sanchez-Korrol, Clancy Sigal, I.F. Stone, Carlota Suarez, Paul M. Sweezy, Nancy Wechsler, Stanley Weir

and defensive. Yet by your own description, the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan involved "no security issue." So what is your explanation? You blame the victim. You assume that the Soviets want to end their involvement there and say "The thing that is stopping them is a rebel army supplied with American arms." For you, stopping aid to the Afghan insurgents allows the Soviets to leave. "That will probably mean a continuation of the pro-Soviet regime...but it's better than a continuation of the current slaughter."

Suppose your logic is applied to Central America. Reagan is paranoid about the USSR. The Salvadoran insurgents only succeed in provoking more U.S. military involvement and continued slaughter of civilians by their armed rebellion. The solution is to lay down their arms and accept continued U.S. domination of the region!

A realistic view of the USSR is not a double standard that says it's tolerable for them to invade a neighbor and impose a government, but it is contemptible for the U.S. to back authoritarian regimes. A realistic view of the Soviets does not condemn U.S. support for racist South Africa and overlook Ethiopia, where oppressed national minorities are opposing a ruthless military regime backed by Soviet arms and Cuban advisors.

Socialists and liberals have certain principles in common. Among them is support for democracy, national sovereignty, and economic development as well as opposition to racism, militarism, and exploitation. Closing our eyes to the transgressions of one super power while condemning the other will neither "confront the ideology of the Cold War seriously" nor make the left credible to the American people. What it leads to is allowing Reagan to proclaim himself a supporter of working class democracy in Poland, while the left worries whether backing Solidarity reinforces Cold War ideology.

—Sam Leiken
Chelsea, Mass.

Editor's note: We did not blame the victim, nor did we suggest that the rebels should put down their arms. But it seems to be true that both the rebels and the Soviets would be better off with a compromise solution made impossible by American encouragement and support of the insurgency, support that is explicitly designed simply to prolong the conflict.

If Reagan directly invaded El Salvador we, as Americans, would do all we could to reverse that. Unfortunately, Soviet citizens don't have the ability to oppose the policies of their government. But it is not the responsibility of the United States—or any other nation—to cynically exploit this situation.

CORRECTION

The vignette concerning Rep. Ronald Dellums that appeared in Salim Muwakkil's Inside Story (*ITT*, Jan. 23), which implied that Dellums, arrested in an anti-apartheid protest, had to be moved to escape angered prisoners in a Washington, D.C. jail has been clarified by the congressman's staff.

"He was having a heated discussion with one prisoner," said Robert Brauer, his legislative aide. "Most of the other prisoners supported him. He was moved to another cell only because they had to fumigate the one he was in."

Editor's note: Please try to keep letters under 250 words in length. Otherwise we may have to make drastic cuts, which may change what you want to say. Also, if possible, please type and double-space letters—or at least write clearly and with wide margins.

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STW1

By Harold Baron

Part II of a two-part series.

THE CUTTING EDGE OF Italian politics has moved to the cities and provinces, where there is a sober hopefulness about the future that is absent in most of the political life of the advanced capitalist world. While Ronald Reagan is optimistic about restoring the past, most political figures operate with a dogged sense of holding things together and surviving with nothing more for the future. But local Italian government leaders are confidently seeking ways to govern the ongoing transformations of the economy and society in ways that are democratic and participatory. They blend vision and pragmatism, working to gain control over the process of change. And they maintain a rootedness in Italian history and concern for the integrity of its institutions.

Last week I sketched out political initiatives shaping up in five cities—Reggio Emilia, Bologna, Perugia, Genoa and Brescia. Italy north of Rome experiences rapid economic development during the '60s and '70s and is on a par with the rest of the Common Market. These urban economies are now undergoing a sharp shift toward the service sector with a decline in the proportional size of the industrial sector. For left-oriented governments that have relied upon a base among the traditional working class, this shift has created political as well as economic problems.

These Italian cities differ from almost all their Western European counterparts in that they are not awaiting initiatives from the national government. Instead, they are making an end run around the stalemated

Italian industry is owned or controlled largely by the state. But this is a source of patronage, not democratic control.

national state. Without making unreal assumptions regarding local autonomy within an advanced capitalist world, they are testing out the extent to which they can govern the process of economic transformation.

For cities from a nation of second rank, operating in a world dominated by superpowers and giant multi-nationals, they are amazingly bold. This charting of their own future only makes sense because they do not divorce politics, even in its details, from its interrelation with the culture and the economy.

Political culture.

"Industry does have an ideological problem with our two major cultures. Both Catholics and Communists are inherently against large size enterprises." They reflect a holistic perception of society. These are the words of a managing director of a multi-national food processing corporation.

The sense of the prevalence of culture is not confined to the professional classes. In a working-class tavern two leaders of the Workers Council at a Fiat truck plant—one a Christian Democrat Catholic, the other a Communist atheist—discuss culture and society with a sophistication difficult to find in a graduate seminar.

Communist: "With the explosive growth of the unions since 1968-69 we have had more money to operate, but we have also become more bureaucratic."

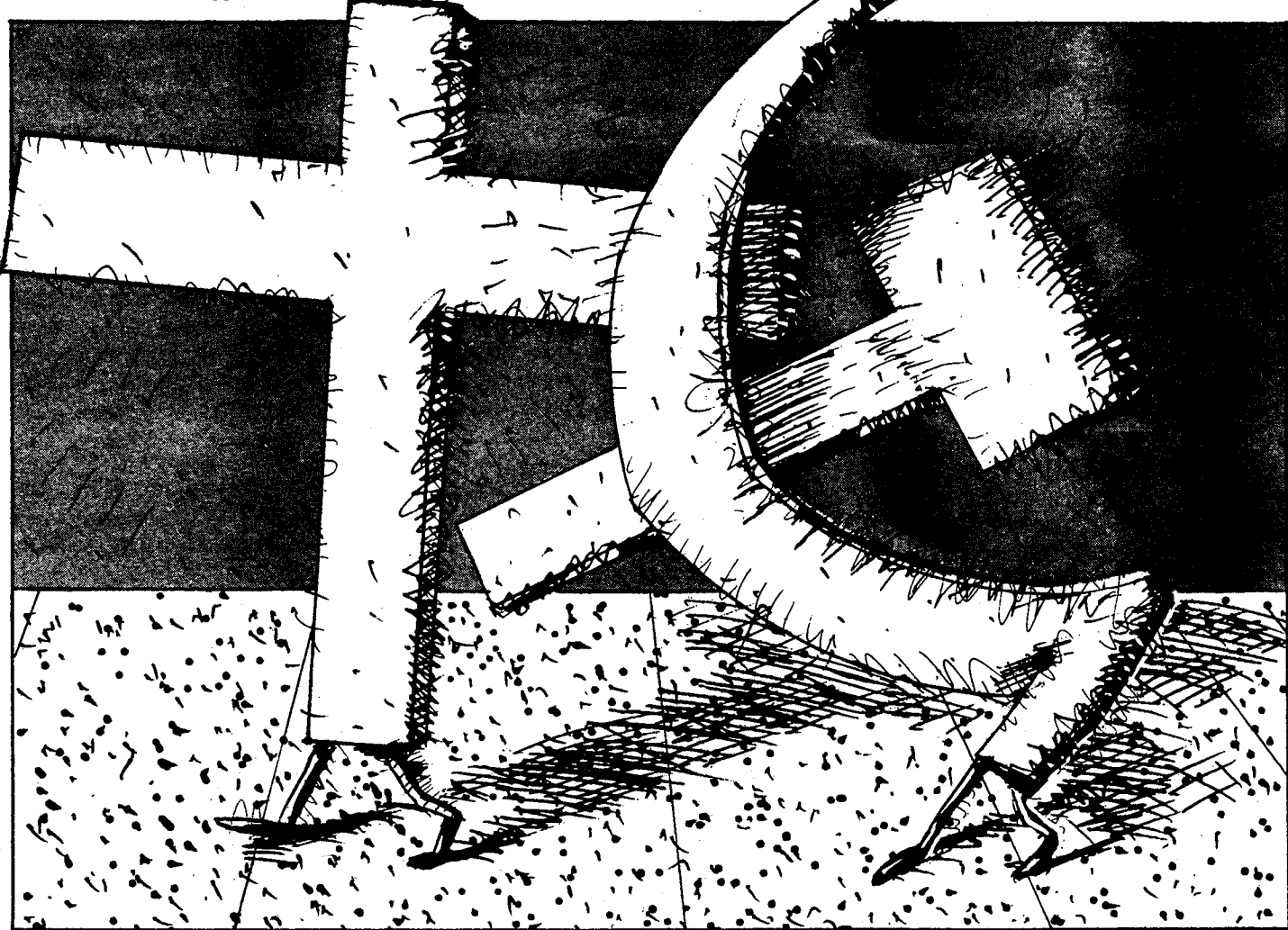
Catholic: "Study programs, *et cetera*, are all right. But there has to be a better dialectic between those in production and those in office."

Communist: "That's why we need intel-

lectuals—because they are the ones who produce ideas. A bureaucrat is the opposite: he does not produce ideas and tends to be against change because it threatens his job."

Catholic: "The intellectual is important because at certain points he indicates the way to a strategy. The bureaucrat is non-innovative. An intellectual can be in the university or a worker. He can be in the union or out, but it's better if he is in."

Communist: "The true intellectual not only generates ideas and strategies, but also verifies these with the ideas and experience of the people. Then the intellectual reformulates them to be applied."



Peter Hannan

the culture of solidarism among the workers, an analysis of the social forces undermining it and an estimate of how each movement responds. The Communist worker summarizes: "Italy is a laboratory where Marxism is intertwined with the most creative part of Catholic thought. For both of us politics is part of our concrete lives and involves our social totality. For the Socialist Prime Minister Craxi, politics has become a show business career." The Catholic worker concurred.

This interaction between a living Marxist and a popular Catholic culture is not often an explicit topic of conversation. It comes up obliquely when a Communist official speaks of the need to do a better job representing the aged and disabled because the Catholics are getting more credit for such work. This reality is revealed at a local headquarters for the Italian Christian Workers Association where the first floor is devoted to a meals for the elderly program. Caring of this nature is not to be found in the rationalist atmosphere of a CPI office.

Popular Catholics, in turn, respect the economic rationalism and pragmatic planning capacity coming out of Communist culture. *Appunti*, the journal of the Catholic Democratic League, projects a common ground between democratic Catholics, ethical Socialists and non-dogmatic Communists. The tasks it sets are the transformation of work and the quality of life, the reform of local institutions, and the establishment of grassroot control. Both popular Catholics and Communists share a commitment to pluralism and democracy.

The economy.

Half of Italian industry is state owned or controlled. This situation is hardly the result of socialism. Mussolini's fascist government nationalized many of capitalism's mistakes. Today they operate as much as patronage vehicles as economic enterprises. Nor is such nationalization identified with socialism.

In Genoa the Socialist and Communist parties, which govern in coalition, have pushed for a switch from state management

to a mixed public-private control over the Port Authority. A quest for efficiency guided this plan, which seeks to gain competitiveness in the world market and to restrict the uneconomic patronage available to the Christian Democratic Party.

Italian Communists are groping toward an economic program that goes beyond welfare capitalist goals of reducing income inequity and ameliorating the damage inflicted by corporations. On the other hand, they do not aim for Soviet-style state centralization. They are about the business of governing the economy under conditions that force them to be competitive in world markets. The Communists' tools are both political and economic. Governmentally their entrenchment in many local administrations might be of greater weight than their 30 percent of parliament. Economically they have trade unions, cooperatives, artisanal associations and the fiscal operations of local governments.

The left-led National Confederation of Artisans with 270,000 member enterprises is one element in the developing alternative economy. One of their leaders in the north describes the difference between them and the Catholic association: "The Christian Democratic artisans look to an economy in which the large firms set the direction. Rather than striving for up-to-date technique, they claim to perform distinctive services that deserve government subvention." The National Confederation works to qualify its membership to operate at high levels of productivity. With supportive, but uniform, economic policies from the national state they figure to hold their own. For example, 87 percent of the trucking industry is owned by single-owner operators. Artisanal consortia are cutting out the middle-people by marketing the loads and purchasing through co-ops. Increasingly the consortia own the trailers while the operators own the tractors.

New approaches to labor-management issues are being worked out within the co-ops. ACM is a large meat-packing cooperative owned by several hundred farm co-ops. Most of the management are members of

the Communist Party as are most of the 700 union workers. The management is conscious of upgrading productivity. Recently they introduced new equipment and a reorganization of work in one section. The union protested that they had not been consulted while the co-op officers claimed management prerogatives. A three-day strike was the response. The settlement was that for one month the line would run according to the union's plan and the next month according to management's. Then the parties would negotiate to adopt those features that worked best. The role of the CPI was to insist on mediation. The local Communist Secretary for Economics says, "Ten years ago we would have imposed a settlement on them."

Harold Baron was research director for Harold Washington's Chicago mayoral election campaign.

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DIALOG

Diamond is too rough on the Nicaraguan union movement

By Mark Warschauer, George Popyack & Luisa Blue

IN SEPTEMBER, WE VISITED Nicaragua. Our delegation of a dozen West Coast union leaders was impressed with the power and vitality of the Nicaraguan trade union movement and with the broad freedoms it exercises, even in conditions of war. We were thus surprised to read Stephen Diamond's article, "Should one class mean one union?" (ITT, Nov. 14), which asserts that "neo-Stalinist tendencies among the Sandinistas" are breaking independent unions, and which portrays a few strikes as the "democratic movement" within Nicaraguan labor.

Diamond backs these conclusions with facts that are incomplete, analysis that is one-sided and premises that are virtually identical to those of the AFL-CIO he purports to criticize. He obscures the main dynamics of the Nicaraguan labor movement and promotes a self-defeating path for Nicaraguan workers.

Diamond begins with a summary of Nicaraguan labor history, in which he implies that Nicaraguan unions, particularly the AFL-CIO-affiliated CUS, played a leading role in the anti-Somoza struggle. But trade unions were notoriously weak under Somoza, owing partly to the small size of the Nicaraguan working class and partly to fierce suppression by the National Guard. Trade unions thus played a minimal role in the revolutionary movement; the general strikes referred to by Diamond were initiated not by unions, but by anti-Somoza employer groups and the FSLN.

The CUS was distinguished not by opposition to Somoza, but rather by support for his rule. Only at the tail end of the struggle did the CUS join the anti-Somoza front, allying itself with the bourgeois opposition rather than with the FSLN.

The effect of Diamond's misleading account of Nicaragua's labor history is to portray a historically strong and united labor movement that the Sandinistas are allegedly mistreating. On the contrary, the Sandinista revolution has given birth to the majority of trade unions in Nicaragua, providing thousands of Nicaraguan workers their first chance ever to organize.

Trade union unity.

As Diamond points out, since the 1979 triumph, the FSLN has sought to form a more unified trade union movement. In November 1980, the Sandinista Workers Confederation (CST) initiated a conference of all Nicaragua's union federations to discuss united labor action. Out of that conference came the Nicaraguan Trade Union Coordinating Council (CSN). Nine of 11 of Nicaragua's major union organizations are members of the CSN. Only the CUS and the Christian Democratic CTN, together representing 2 percent of Nicaragua's organized workers, stand outside. They have joined the Ramiro Sacasa Democratic Coordinating Committee, which also includes the Higher Council of Private Enterprise (COSEP) and three right-wing political parties, and whose spokesperson is calling for renewed U.S. aid to the *contras*.

Diamond describes the process to achieve trade union unity in highly charged terms such as "dual unionism" and "breaking existing unions." But the process Diamond is referring to is simple: class-conscious Nicaraguan workers under the leadership of the FSLN have formed revolutionary trade union federations and or-

ganized tens of thousands of workers into these unions. They have appealed to the anti-government unions to join with them in the CSN.

The vast majority of Nicaragua's workers have shown a preference for the Sandinista unions. This should not surprise Diamond, since his own article refers to the many gains the Sandinista revolution has achieved for workers, such as improved health care and education. Would Diamond find it more natural, or preferable, for Nicaraguan workers to be attracted to AFLD-affiliated or Christian Democratic unions rather than Sandinista unions? Should Sandinista unions stop organizing so as not to violate Diamond's notion of "dual unionism"?

The main opponent of trade union unity in Nicaragua has been, not surprisingly, the large business owners of COSEP. A COSEP communique of Nov. 14, 1979, stated that "The repeated intention to create a single workers confederation...is difficult to harmonize with the spirit of the Basic Statute which authorizes freedom of association.... We insist on the importance of competition between workers organizations."

Strikes, trade union democracy.

Diamond alludes several times to "force" that the Sandinistas are allegedly applying to "independent" unions. The evidence he offers—and apparently his main beef with the Sandinistas—is the suspension of the right to strike. Citing strikes at the San Antonio sugar refinery and the Victoria Brewery, Diamond claims that Nicaraguan workers are fighting "important battles for the future of the Nicaraguan revolution" by striking.

Nicaraguan workers our delegation spoke to felt that the battles for the future of the revolution were taking place through the defense of the country from U.S./*contra*

attack, and that the contribution of workers to this should be in raising production, not striking. They felt that if the U.S. succeeded in overthrowing the Sandinista government, it would crush the Nicaraguan working class. As a Chilean trade union leader pointed out to the anti-Sandinista CTN: "If Nicaragua loses its revolution—as we lost ours—you will experience real trade union repression; you won't have to invent it."

Most Nicaraguan workers are keenly aware of the Chilean experience, and in particular of the CIA's instigation of strikes as part of the overthrow of Allende. And for Nicaraguan workers, CIA attack is not an abstract proposition; most have had friends or relatives murdered by the *contras*. All have suffered the deprivation caused by the war.

In this situation, the Nicaraguan workers and their trade union organizations have demanded an end to strikes. In September 1984, the Third National Assembly of Trade Unions, which included the Sandinista Workers Confederation, the Association of Rural Workers, the National Union of Public Employees, the Federation of Health Workers, the National Educators Association, the National Journalists Union and the General Confederation of Workers passed the following resolution:

"[We pledge] to resolve labor problems and conflicts through negotiation without stopping production. We workers should be conscious that every stoppage of production signifies a weakening of our economy and would facilitate the imperialist pretexts for invading us."

We visited the Victoria Brewery in Managua shortly after the August 1984 strike referred to by Diamond. The workers who supported the strike spoke to us about their individual economic needs; but expressed little concern for broader issues such as

defending the revolution, raising the social wage, achieving pay equity, struggling for women's rights, etc. In contrast, those who opposed the strike—including the union leadership at the plant—expressed concern for all these issues, and especially for defending the Nicaraguan revolution. Juan Jose Solis, secretary of the union, told us, "In order to secure the future we have to sacrifice, especially if one understands that what the working class throughout the world wants most is political power, and that is exactly what we in Nicaragua have in our hands. That is what we have to defend."

Inside Nicaragua, the main supporters of the Victoria Brewery strike were COSEP, the anti-government *La Prensa* newspaper and right-wing political parties. The CST tried to explain to the Victoria Brewery workers the cause of the country's economic problems, and to urge them to settle the matter through negotiations. The workers returned to their jobs and the matter was successfully resolved through talks.

The logic of Diamond's view is that trade unions—even in revolutionary countries—should be a permanent opposition. Thus while Diamond takes an obligatory swipe at the AFL-CIO, he actually shares the AFL-CIO's main premise regarding Nicaragua: that the true measure of "democracy" for Nicaragua's unions is to be found in how actively they oppose the Sandinista government; those unions opposing the revolution and waging strikes against the government are "independent" and "democratic"; those unions defending the revolution are "neo-Stalinist."

Carried to its logical conclusion, this would call for a wave of strikes against the Nicaraguan government. But the majority of Nicaraguan workers are clear about how to fight for their interests.

The experiences of the Nicaraguan labor movement hold many valuable lessons for workers in other countries. Unionists in the U.S. would do better to try to understand and learn from Nicaraguan labor, rather than distort its reality.

Mark Warschauer is coordinator of the Labor Network on Central America. George Popyack is International Vice President of AFSCME. Luisa Blue is president of SEIU 390/400 in the San Francisco Bay Area. To receive a copy of a 32-page report on Nicaraguan labor issued by their delegation, send \$2.50 to Labor Network, Box 864, Oakland, CA 94668.

Pluralism is necessary for a free labor movement

By Stephen F. Diamond

IAM HAPPY TO SEE THAT MY article "Nicaragua: Should one class mean one union?" has sparked discussion in the anti-intervention movement. The central issue is similar to that raised by Adam Hochschild's "Rosy-Glowism" analysis: can a movement for a truly democratic U.S. foreign policy develop on the basis of an apology for whatever policies a revolutionary junta happens to pursue? Though I would be just as firmly opposed to U.S. intervention if the Nicaraguan people were to choose a "Cuban model" for their nation, I am certainly opposed to intervention when the Nicaraguans themselves are expressing signs of a democratic, critical and independent spirit. That this spirit exists seems, sadly, to have escaped the notice of leftist commentators like Ronald Radosh and Robert Leiken, not to mention Lane Kirkland.

This is the real question at stake in our discussion of Nicaraguan trade unionism, indicated all the more by the skillful dance around my original article performed by the above authors. There is only one suggestion of a factual inaccuracy: that the AFL-CIO affiliate in Nicaragua, the CUS,

remained generally aloof from the movement to oust Somoza. Perhaps Luis Medrano Flores, once president of the CUS, would be alive today if this were so. After returning from a visit to the U.S., where he had arranged a Longshoremen's boycott of Nicaraguan ships and goods, he was shot down on a Managua street corner by Somocistas while leafletting for an upcoming demonstration in memory of already murdered publisher Pedro Joaquin Chamorro.

His death, of course, only makes all the more tragic the rather confused path the CUS has followed since the 1979 victory. Under the combined pressure of the FSLN's crackdown on independent unions and the AFL-CIO's Cold War support for the counterrevolutionary movement, the CUS has never been able to establish itself as a credible alternative for Nicaraguan workers.

Unfortunately, Warschauer et al use what has become a common smear on the left against independent action by Latin American workers: the bogeyman of the "Allende syndrome." The symptoms of this affliction include the transformation of the right to strike into a weapon of the CIA the very minute any form of a left-wing government takes power. Of course, some of the strikes by small business people and truck-

ers during Allende's government did have a reactionary character and were CIA supported. But most of the strikes were legitimate expressions of discontent. And in Nicaragua no one has even hinted at CIA involvement in strikes. Why should we in the U.S. spread such irrelevant fears?

The remainder of their piece is dedicated to an elaborate justification of the FSLN's trade union policy. And though there are frequent references to my alleged "premises" and "implications," there is no mention of the simple fact that the question of the nature of Nicaraguan trade unionism is being fought out by the Nicaraguans themselves. Edgardo Garcia, an FSLN member and head of the official trade union umbrella group, the CSN, described in an interview the constant debate within both Sandinista and non-Sandinista unions over the future of their organizations in the new Nicaragua. The FSLN union leaders at the Victoria Brewery or the San Antonio sugar refinery may have had one view of strikes, but clearly their membership had another. In fact, both Garcia and Melina Nunez, international secretary of the Nicaraguan Teachers' Union, interviewed last summer while strikes were still illegal and prior to the Victoria work stoppage, felt that the strike by 6,000 San Antonio workers was justified. Is it for us to choose between them? Certainly we are entitled to our individual opinions. But our major responsibility, because of the devastating impact a war can have on free and democratic dialog, is to end our government's role in this war. Then this debate about Nicaragua's future, being conducted by the Nicaraguans themselves, can continue.

The Name of the Rose

By Umberto Eco

Warner Books, Inc., 611 pp., \$4.95

The Postscript to The Name of the Rose

By Umberto Eco

Harcourt Brace & Jovanovich, 96 pp., \$7.95

By Christopher Hitchens

Jorge Luis Borges, the blind Argentine novelist and ex-librarian, is perhaps the most complex and imaginative literary craftsman alive today. A few years ago, he published a story about an infinite library: a labyrinth of books and shelves that "existed" in a shifting continuum of space and time.

Umberto Eco, the Italian semiotician, has constructed a 14th-century Italian abbey, the center of which is a labyrinthine library organized on mystical, recondite principles. The guardian of this library's secret is a blind *savant* named Jorge of Burgos.

It is tricks and allusions of this kind that have made *The Name of the Rose* into a success on so many levels. It has generated enough interest to justify the publication of a *Postscript*, in which the author explains himself by raising more questions than he cares to answer. *The Name of the Rose* can be read for diversion, as a thriller or as an historical romance. It can also be mined for various guessing games (even the meaning of the title is opaque), for stylistic insights and linguistic conceits. A knowledge of Latin and some grounding in the history of schism and medieval philosophy are useful but not essential.

The novel's central character, William of Baskerville (Eco likes Conan Doyle as well as Borges) is a rationalist and a logician who is compelled to argue within the framework of Christian orthodoxy. He enters the abbey as an outsider, charged with an investigation into murder and backsliding. The entire narrative is based upon his method and his personality—there is scarcely a scene that he does not command.

As an Englishman, imbued with Roger Bacon's love of scientific inquiry and Peter Abelard's attachment to logical procedure, he is distrusted at once by the more superstitious and dogmatic elements within the abbey. Moreover, as a former inquisitor who resigned his post in disgust, he has given proof of his willingness to tolerate heterodoxy and even—the key word in the novel—heresy. It becomes impossible for him to confine his inquiry to the narrow course proposed by the authorities.

The narrator, a young and credulous monk named Adso, plays the part of a prompter in a Socratic dialog, feeding lines and questions to the master. He notices early on that William possesses "curiosity, but at the beginning I knew little of this virtue, which I thought, rather, a passion of the covetous spirit." It is also the case, reflects Adso, "that in those dark times a wise man had to believe things that were in contradiction among themselves."

Those dark times.

In "those dark times" the Emperor and the Pope were sworn foes, who might make peace at any moment to combine against another enemy. Varying Christian factions maneuvered against one another. And for

"the simple," God and the devil were everyday presences. So, too, was the impending Apocalypse, signs of which were detected on every hand. But the doctrinal center of the Church was also unstable, and yesterday's imperative could well go into tomorrow's discard. When the Pope is rumored to be reconsidering the existence of the fiery pit: "Lord Jesus, assist us! Jerome cried. And what will we tell sinners, then, if we cannot threaten them with an immediate hell the moment they are dead?"

The difficulty is, evidently, that small heresies—even William's vice of "curiosity"—will inevitably lead to bigger ones. The least challenge to the edifice of the faith must therefore be avoided, or crushed. In this instance, the faith is enshrined by the *Aedificium*: the library. Here, as the abbot puts it, may be found "the very word of God, as he dictated it to the prophets and the apostles, as the fathers preached it without changing a syllable."

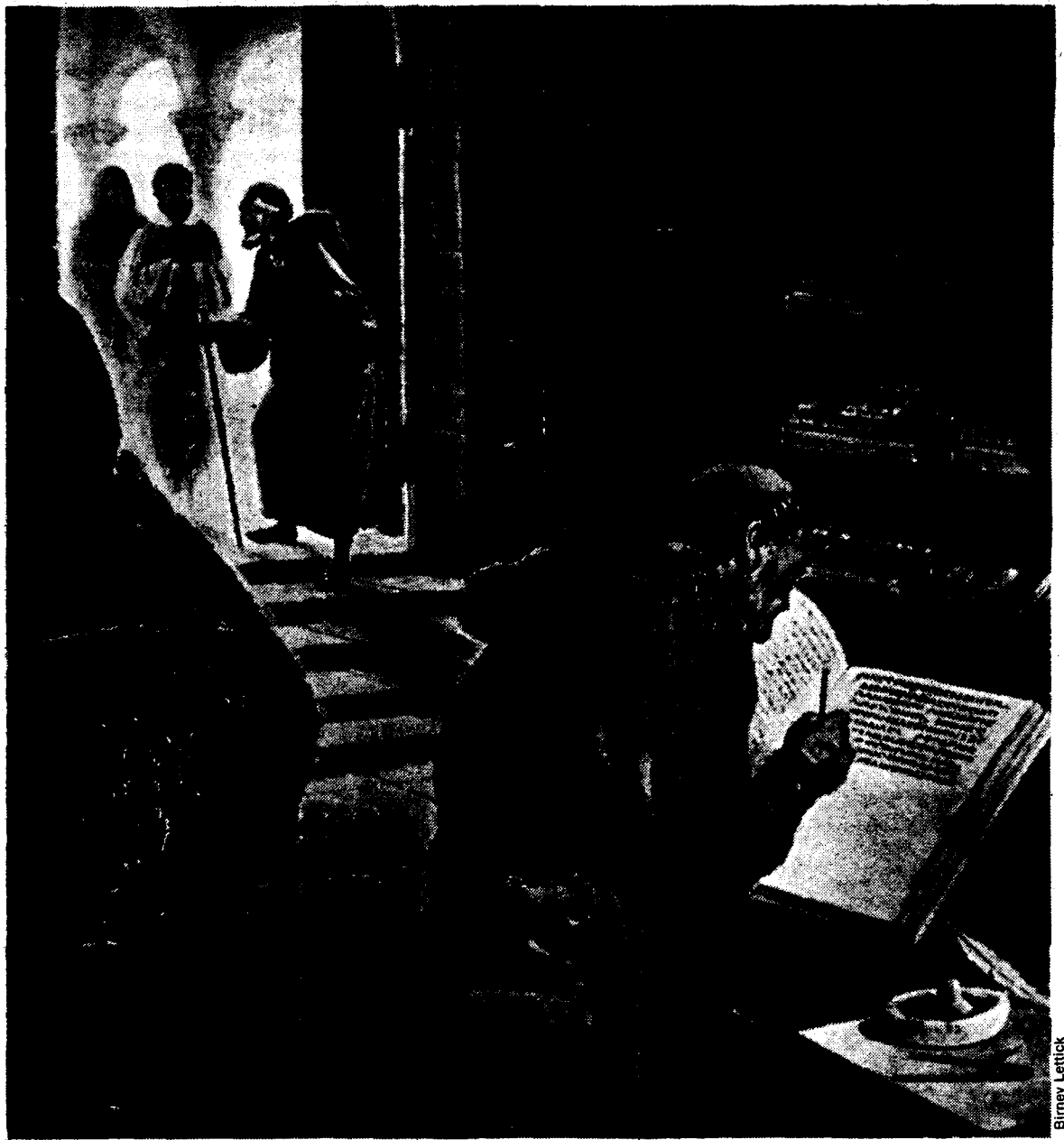
But someone is moving through the abbey and the library and murdering its devout servants at the rate of one a day. The order and method of dispatch is designed to suggest a prefiguration—even an enactment—of the Apocalypse. One by flood, one by blood, one by poison: the last days are being inexorably counted off. It takes William of Baskerville some little time to realize that this panic-inducing sequence is a brilliant feint, and that the false trail is intended to lead away from the mysterious library.

The conclusion (which I'll leave as obscure as I can) has also been prefigured in the text. Jorge of Burgos is determined that no pre-Christian enlightenment be allowed or tolerated. Once you concede that humanity possessed numerous truths and values before the Bible, you may as well admit that Christianity is just another religion. And this would endanger more than just the spiritual hierarchy. The work of Greek and Jewish predecessors, then, must be kept hidden from profane "curiosity."

In the metaphorical, allegorical conflict between William and Jorge, their recurring dispute concerns Aristotle, who taught that laughter is a cathartic and vivacious thing. It is precisely because of this passage in the *Poetics* that Jorge opposes Aristotle so viciously:

Laughter frees the villain from fear of the Devil, because in the feast of fools the Devil also appears poor and foolish, and therefore controllable. But this book could teach that freeing oneself of the fear of the Devil is wisdom. When he laughs, as the wine gurg-

The Name of the Rose can be read for diversion, as a thriller or as an historical tale. In the Postscript Eco says readers can read more into the book than he meant.

**FICTION**

Illuminating the world of a 14th century monastery

les in his throat, the villain feels he is master, because he has overturned his position with respect to his lord; but this book could teach learned men the clever and, from that moment, illustrious artifices that could legitimize the reversal.

One could go on (and Eco does, for pages). But the point is made. There are secrets that the vulgar multitude must not know. "The license of the plebeians must be restrained and humiliated, and intimidated by sternness."

Even William's friends counsel him: "Mortify your intelligence, learn to weep over the wounds of the Lord, throw away your books." There is, naturally, more than pure theology at stake. Abbeys and monasteries did not only hold monopolies of learning and education; they were centers of economic, political and even military strength. They exerted immense influence over the market and were the possessors ("in trust," of course) of extraordinary wealth.

Striking modernism.

Indeed, there is a striking modernism about *The Name of the Rose*, often missed by those who look for mere analogies in it. At one point, Adso asks the ignorant monk Salvatore why a fundamentalist Christian sect, the Shepherds, has decided to turn on the Jews:

He explained to me that all his life preachers had told him the Jews were the enemies of Christianity and accumulated possessions that had been denied the Christian poor. I asked, however,

whether it was not also true that lords and bishops accumulated possessions through tithes, so that the Shepherds were not fighting their true enemies. He replied that when your true enemies are too strong, you have to choose weaker enemies. I reflected that this is why the simple are so called. Only the powerful always know with great clarity who their true enemies are.

The climate of repression and denial is very well evoked; it is obviously the source from which many of the terrors and delusions in the abbey derive. Those who brood on the imminence of Armageddon, with its visions of dreadful woman-beasts, or who employ it to frighten others, are prey to awful fears themselves. Eco writes as far as possible as if he was a denizen of the 14th century; but only by the most lurid imaginations of the Apocalypse (perhaps easier now than in any intervening epoch) can he recreate the holy terror by which Jorge of Burgos conceals his real purpose.

Jorge's real purpose, by preventing access to a lost book of Aristotle, is to prevent Adso from asking the question he is eventually forced to ask:

But how can a necessary being exist totally polluted with the possible? What difference is there, then, between God and primeval chaos? Isn't affirming God's absolute omnipotence and His absolute freedom with regard to his own choices tantamount to demonstrating that God does not exist?

Eco's *Postscript to the Name of the Rose* both confirms and ques-

tions this interpretation. He allows that any reader can find more in the book than its author intended. He suggests that many of his own themes and repetitions are subconscious or accidental (my own use of the word "curiosity" falls into this category). But, despite his playful attitude to serious textual criticisms, he insists that the reader submit to certain demands and disciplines:

If somebody wanted to enter the abbey and live there for seven days, he had to accept the abbey's own pace. If he could not, he would never manage to read the whole book. Therefore those first hundred pages are like a penance or an initiation, and if someone does not like them, so much the worse for him. He can stay at the foot of the hill.

Elsewhere, Eco's *Postscript* is less satisfying, as when he says that his characters (Jorge in particular) have written their own parts and that a cosmology, once created, will determine the rhythm and the outcome of a novel. But his insights at least balance his frivolities, and when he jokes about readers mistaking modern texts for medieval ones, and vice versa, he is being acute:

If a character of mine, comparing two medieval ideas, produces a third, more modern idea, he is doing exactly what culture did; and if nobody has ever written what he says, someone, however confusedly, should surely have begun to think it.

Christopher Hitchens, author of Cyprus, writes a regular column for The Nation.

RITUALS

Inaugural '85: Paying to play

By Pat Aufderheide

The presidential inaugural is a well-established quadrennial ritual, but this year it was also a point of contention and counter-ritual in which culture met politics on public terrain.

For the inaugural committee, the terrain was public if you're talking media, and private if you're talking money. Taking a lick from the success of the Olympics, the committee allowed corporations to make contributions to the \$12 million affair in return for sponsorship or advertising.

One hefty contributor was *USA Today*, a Gannett newspaper, which donated several pages of free ads for inaugural memorabilia, boldly stepping across the line between reporting on and participating in a headline-making event and also winning the right to call

committee, which started refusing donations once its \$8 million up-front goal had been reached, won't pay. Entertainment producer Robert Jani, whose style can be divined from the fact that he produced the half-time ceremony of last year's Superbowl will have to pay them out of his own pocket.

Coronation and protest.

The inaugural didn't strike Joan Claybrook, head of the Nader-sponsored Public Citizen group, as particularly frugal. She called it more like a coronation than an inaugural, and found it "unbecoming" to accept donations from corporations that "certainly expect some return favors." An inaugural spokesperson in turn charged her with not entering into the spirit of the inaugural, a charge perhaps better leveled at the weather.

The bitter cold not only canceled the Monday parade but put



have never been known for their social consciousness. Many circulate their work to each other through the mail, on an informal but well-established circuit. PADD organizers asked them to send "Image-grams" to the White House for the inaugural, and replies from Florida, Maine and Alabama, among others, showed that mail artists had more on their mind than color xerox. While some works are formalist and even obscure, says organizer Herb Perr, others are sharply topical. One features a photo of Santino in cowboy hat and chaps, with "Great American Hero" handwritten across the image.

In Washington, D.C., where

public interest work requires not only dedication but a saving sense of humor, a group called Public Interest Follies staged a satirical revue. Playing to packed audiences full of public interest types both nights it was performed, the revue featured an acerbic look at open debates of public issues.

In "Baby with the Bathwater," Michael Reagan introduces his youngest child to Nancy and Ron, coyly informing them that her name symbolizes the Reagan era. "Gloria?" asks Nancy. "Victoria?" "Deficit," says Michael. Ron promptly throws the baby out the window, saying, "Gosh darn it, son, the little bugger just up and disappeared."

To official Washington, the inaugural was more about parties than politics. While some in Washington hurried to rent red cummerbunds and last-minute limos, the administration's critics gathered in counter-inaugural celebrations. In New York, some attended a Can't Stop Us Now Counter-Inaugural Ball, held as a benefit for the Center for Constitutional Rights. There, too, symbolic items were sold to raise money, but nothing in the order of a Reagan-head mug. Partygoers had the chance to bid on a piece of the fence that borders Greenham Commons, the site on which women continue to protest nuclear weapons.



itself an official sponsor of the inaugural.

Others joined in this display of public-spirited private enterprise. Both Coke and Pepsi put up sizeable loans. Auto makers and oil companies made donations in kind. The reason for largesse was not hard to find: "We do it because we expect favors," one corporate spokesman told the *Washington Post*. "Only kidding," he added.

If the inaugural committee borrowed up-front financing tactics from the Olympics, it borrowed revenue-generating techniques from popular culture, especially the movie and toy industry. Like grown-up versions of the kids who buy *Star Wars* toys, Reagan-Bush fans eagerly bought appropriately embossed cufflinks, coasters and snack mixes, as well as more expensive items such as a Reagan-head mug at \$295. The ceramic Soaring Eagle, at \$950, was already sold out a week before the inaugural. Trinket sales—mostly by mail order but also available in department stores such as Bloomingdales—may end up defraying 30 percent of the inaugural's cost.

Money can't buy taste, though. The inaugural trinkets had a gracelessness that would shame a summer tourist trap. And in some places the inaugural cut corners. It wasn't until unions and public outcry forced the committee into changing its policy that it agreed to pay the "clean cut, all-American" performers it recruited in advertisements. The cost-conscious

the committee back at least half a million dollars for ticket refunds.

She wasn't the only dissident. In Washington, D.C., demonstrators led by Jesse Jackson and other black leaders protested near the White House over inaugural weekend.

As well, many artists used the occasion to register their opposition to Reagan-era priorities. In New York, the Political Art Documentation/Distribution (PADD) and Artist Call mobilized a broad range of artists in protest with exhibits and performances over a two-week period around the event.

Wit matched outrage in some events, including a performance by Paul Zaloon, a political comedian who performed his "found-object future show." One vignette is the "Library of the Future," in which a plastic replica of the Statue of Liberty plays the role of librarian until authorities in the shape of paper cup dispensers cart off her books in a toaster-oven van. "Guess I'll take the rest of the day off," she says.

The artists' mobilization, called "State of Mind/State of the Union," involved some artists who



Attacking the Religious Right on Television

People for the American Way, a nonprofit group founded in 1980 by TV producer Norman Lear to battle censorship, recently ran a series of issue-advertisements across the country on television, challenging the religious right's political self-promotion. In the one-minute ads, actors portraying a forklift operator, a grandmother and a man in his study at home suggest that there is more than one political opinion for a "good Christian" to have. John Buchanan, the organization's chair, explains that the ads take issue with the religious right, especially the TV evangelists, "on their insistence that anyone who disagrees with them is immoral, anti-family or un-American," calling it "Moral McCarthyism." Apparently many people agree with him, because the ads, which included an 800 number to call for more information, netted the organization 15,000 new members and \$160,000 in contributions.

Public Monuments, Private Sector

When the Statue of Liberty was slated for restoration last year, one Yankee entrepreneur saw gold in the debris that accumulated at the foot of the monument. John Stocks, a Florida real estate developer, bought the salvage and has founded a firm to sell it as souvenir items, both to corporations and directly to trinket-hungry consumers. The firm is getting help from the government, since the National Park Service is supervising removal of the debris, and also won endorsement of the foundation restoring the statue,

which is headed by a pro at corporate-government liaison, Chrysler's Lee Iacocca. The Corporation, appropriately, is called Goldleaf and is headquartered in the Empire State Building. When it runs out of rubble from the Statue of Liberty, perhaps the secretarial staff could rummage through the Empire State's garbage for marketable items.

So Don't Be Looking for an Author's Tour

The first Nicaraguan novel to be translated into English, *To Bury Our Fathers*, has been released at the same time that the author,

AUTHENTIC MATERIALS



Vice President Sergio Ramirez, was forced to cancel a U.S. visit. The State Department refused to extend normal security protection to Ramirez, who also canceled a visit to this country last April, when the State Department granted him only restricted entry under the McCarran-Walter Act (controlling movement of "subversives"). Appropriately, the book was published by Readers International (see *In These Times*, Oct. 3, 1984), specializing in translations of books re-

lated to human rights. (You can order from Readers International, P.O. Box E, Columbia, LA 71418.)

Color Comes to South African TV, Sort Of

South African TV has always had separate channels for separate races. Now cultural policy is stomping solidly in the wake of political tinkering with apartheid. A new fourth TV channel, to be transmitted after 9:30 p.m. when the two African-language channels shut down, is aimed at whites, Asians and coloreds. The fare will be pure entertainment. Not taking any chances, the regime does not permit news bulletins or documentaries on the new service.

Update

In a fit of decisiveness, the Federal Communications Commission has ruled that the CIA's Fairness Doctrine complaint against ABC News is not valid (see "MediaBeat," *ITT*, Jan. 16). The case, in which the CIA asked ABC to retract a charge that the Agency had plotted to kill a Honolulu investment counselor, raised the question of whether a government agency could use the Fairness Doctrine to protect itself from public scrutiny. However, the FCC based its rejection on other grounds, and explicitly said the Doctrine does not limit complaints "to any specific entities or individuals." The CIA still has a couple of weeks to appeal, and the decision leaves the door open for other government agencies as well to turn the Doctrine on its head, using it to quell rather than open debate on public issues.

Golub

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untrue stories of how they lived their lives and how power was used in those societies. They were romances, and cowboy stories.

The [kind of] obstructions that [supplanted] history painting ended up not reporting on anything at all. Now you have a kind of revolt by many younger artists who want a certain kind of tangibility, or a special sensuality which has to do with the textures of things—with effects, emotions, surfaces, ironies, images that are symbolic of the way we function on an everyday basis. Art is seen in a disjunctive way because we are in the process of destabilizing a lot of things.

Were the events of the '60s pivotal for you? Yes. I was doing paintings like *Gigantomachy*, those nude men. That is more violent than most, more of a street scene. But even in that one, the figures are in a location that is a universal kind of space. The figures are generalized, have to do with survival, the notion of men struggling with each other. An endless kind of struggle, like Sisyphus.

That is one way of looking at power, control and vulnerability—that life, on some level, finally ends up being at least irrational. But there was this Vietnam war going on every day. It was full of horrendous tales and photographs. I had claimed

my work was public and political, yet it had nothing to do with these things.

But you can't go two directions at once. So I compromised. In the painting called *Napalm*, I kept the generality, the nudes like Greek sculpture, but I got specific with their wounds. Then I was compelled to go further, to put uniforms on them. I described this crisis with a joke—whether I wanted to spend the rest of my life painting wrinkles. I learned to love the wrinkles. And the most fascinating part of all, I began to give them looks.

What do you mean by "looks"?

You're trying to get their naturalness, so that someone who's a mercenary or an interrogator is maybe your kid brother, or your father, the same father who brings you back a toy. That guy earlier in the day was doing something unspeakable.

Political art is often dismissed by critics. I think it's been exaggerated that art can't be political. That comes from the closures of the system—things that were permitted and not permitted.

Is political art telling us anything that we don't hear on the evening news already? That argument shouldn't be applied just to political art. What about an artist who paints still lifes? What's new about that? What about somebody who paints abstractions? There's an irritability about political art just as there used to be about figurative art in the '50s and '60s. "What could possibly be new about figurative art? It's dead." Well, it turns out that some of the people who claimed that are *deader*.

Your painting could be accused of sensationalism.

I think sensationalism is part of the world. Smashing people around is sensational. Exaggeration and vulgarity are part of the world. I wouldn't want to be in the position of painting people in nice houses, showing them at their entertainments. I think that's just a cover-up.

Society permits you to have civilized veneers. Most Americans are not mercenaries. They go to their jobs, dress in clean clothes, pick up the children from school. They're well-meaning. But at some

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level, it's not real at all. Because we're living in a world where we control some 60 to 70 percent of the world's resources.

Americans have it good. We intend to stay number one. You know what the election was about? That Americans intend to stay number one. Even when Americans don't have much, they know they have more than most people in the world and they want a foreign policy that will keep it that way. "Do whatever it takes, but don't tell me about it," is the attitude.

Hunter Drohojowska is art editor of the L.A. Weekly.

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BERKELEY, CA

February 2

Women's Association of El Salvador presents a

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NEW YORK, NY

January 26

Benefit for Guatemalan Coca-Cola workers. Screening of documentary about the strike, *The Real Thing*. Discussion with its director, Peter Schnall; Deborah Levenson, co-author of *Guatemala in Rebellion*; and Paul Filson, ACT-WU, recently returned from Guatemala. Following, party with cash bar. Sponsored by N.Y.C. Labor Film Club. At DC 37, 125 Barclay St. (two blocks north W.T.C.), 7:30 p.m.-midnight. Call (212) 766-1905 for more information.

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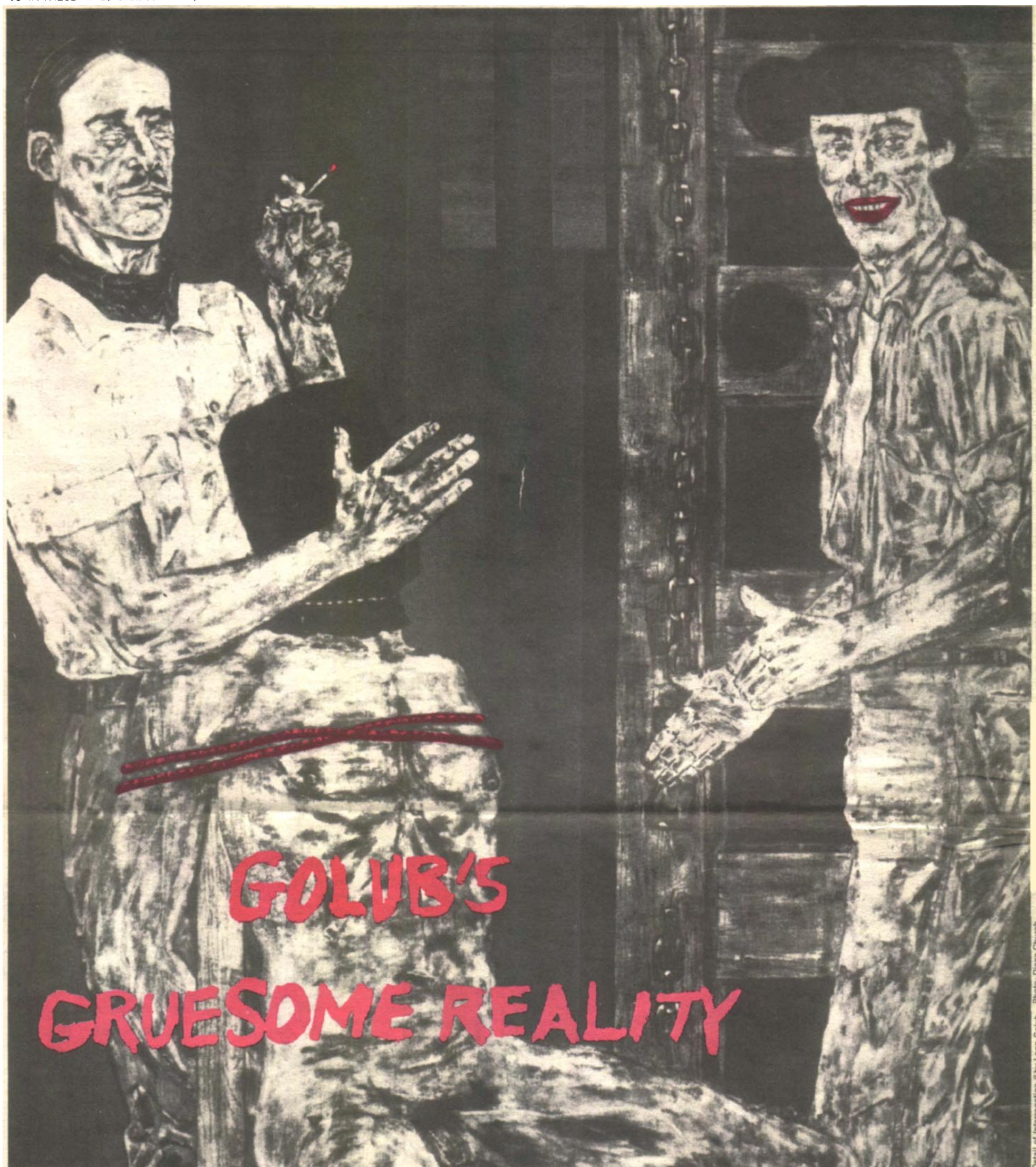
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Detail of Interrogation II by Leon Golub Photo: Diana Church

By Hunter Drohojowska

A NUDE WOMAN'S WRISTS ARE bound, her eyes and mouth covered with tape. A man in paramilitary garb shoves her head forward while another tightens the rope around her wrists.

This is a painting by Leon Golub; in a retrospective exhibit organized by the New Museum in New York and now touring the country. The galleries are electric with the energy from enormous, unstretched canvases of mercenaries, interrogators and their victims. The backgrounds of the paintings are blood red. The figures are rendered in khaki or blue, roughly drawn, selected from newspaper and magazine photos. The paint is scraped down so that the figures appear raw and bruised.

With the rising interest in neo-expressionism has come increased attention to Golub's art. One of his paintings was on the cover of *Art in America* in January 1984. The artist, 63, feels vindicated by his new acclaim. Since the 1950s he has

been painting figuratively, and therefore was an outsider to prevailing art world trends. Influenced by Jean Dubuffet and primitive art, his works had been internal and subjective until the Vietnam war galvanized his opinions.

Since then, his work has been overtly political, at first critical of U.S. involvement in Vietnam and now of U.S. financial support for mercenaries in Central America. He lives in New York with his wife Nancy Spero, an artist whose work is similarly motivated.

The bald dome of Golub's head tops a face of a million expressions. Brown eyes ceaselessly flicker, taking in his surroundings; his ears poke out, absorbing every word. He is an information addict and before the interview even begins he is chatting at high speed about human rights violations, metal detectors in airports, the art world and his own work.

This interview was conducted in La Jolla, Calif., where Golub's work is on exhibit at the La Jolla Museum of Contemporary Art. It moves to the Chicago Museum of Contemporary Art February 8-April 7, the Montreal Museum of Fine Arts April

18-June 2 and the Corcoran Gallery in Washington, D.C., July 6-September 8.

How did you force yourself into making these horrific paintings?

In a way I've always done it. My earlier paintings from the '50s—such as one called "Damaged Man": that's a flayed skin. There's your victim. The notions of people in power—authority figures—I had that in the paintings of shamans, priests and philosophers. What I've done is to enlarge and change their circumstances.

What I try to do now is get more objective. I wanted to represent people who look like you and I do, and how we respond to the kinds of pressures around us. On one level, my paintings are very unreal because they are so much larger and grosser than we are. The point is that their enlargement is the only way you can get to the enormity of what is actually occurring: tortures and killing. If I made it realistic in a more conventional way, it would not have that sense of being...(long pause)...omnipresent.

When you're in a gallery, you're enclosed by the paintings. You can almost suffocate in that kind of enclosure. There's no escape, no exit.

Up to the '60s, you were painting figures of authority, but they were about the inner state.

I wanted to get outside myself and look at the world, but there were two problems. First, you have to get outside your over-subjective self. Artists are very indulgent. There's an enormous narcissism in the making of art, and they are always watching themselves. In addition, you've got to escape the circumstances of the art world itself, which tends to self-enclose and be elitist. In the '60s and much of the '70s you rarely saw anything in art that had anything to do with any events whatsoever that were taking place. Even personal and psychological events were excluded, let alone external, historical events.

The problem becomes one of reinventing and reentering, of moving outside this window of the art world. The window was frosted, so you couldn't even look out.

How did this situation evolve?

Nineteenth-century history painting got off the track because it became sentimental and it glorified positions of power. It sentimentalized people like Napoleon and told

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